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RELIGIONS OF INDIA

A. SARTI

PROFESSOR OF HINDU PHILOSOPHY

ETHNOLOGICAL TRANSLATIONS

REV. J. WOOD

LONDON

TURNER & CO. BUDNATE HILL

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DR. JOHN MUIR
THIS SKETCH
OF
THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

THE AUTHOR

IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE
UNWEARIED SERVICES AS A STUDENT AND INTERPRETER
OF THE FAITH AND WISDOM OF INDIA,
AND OF HIS GENEROUS PATRONAGE
OF INDIAN RESEARCH.

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—Festivals—Pilgrimages—Rites, Customs and Pre-
scriptions

PREFACE.

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THE following sketch of the Religions of India appeared originally in 1879 as an article in the *Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses*, which is published in Paris under the editorship of Professor Lichtenberger. My aim in composing it was to present, to a class of readers who take interest in questions of historical theology, but who happen to have no special acquaintance with Indian matters, a résumé, which should be as faithful and reliable as possible, of the latest results of inquiry in all provinces of this vast domain. At first I thought I might compress all I had to say in some fifty pages; but I soon saw that within a space so limited, the work I had undertaken, and which I intended should assume the form of a statement of facts rather than of a series of speculative deductions, would prove absolutely superficial and be sure to give rise to manifold misapprehension. This first difficulty was easily got over through the friendly liberality of the Editor of the *Encyclopédie*, for, as soon as aware of it, he generously offered to concede to me whatever space I might need. Other difficulties remained, however, besides those connected with the subject in itself—which is one of boundless extent and intricacy, and which no special work, so far as I know, has as yet treated at once as a whole and in detailed particularity—those, viz., which arose out of the general plan of the work in which my sketch was to appear as an article. The *Encyclopédie* admitted only of a small number of divisions into chapters, and no notes.

the book is to be of value, this defect of external arrangement would have to be compensated for by its internal structure. In all its sections it would require to present a more explicitly reasoned sequence of ideas, and to possess to some extent more compactness of structure, into which the introduction of new matter would be attended with difficulty. The article was therefore reproduced in the French edition without alterations. For this very reason also the present edition is in these respects pretty much the same as the French original. Certain inaccuracies in detail have been corrected; in some passages the text has been relieved by the expansion of the notes; in others, though more rarely, material intended at first to appear in the footnotes has been admitted into the body of the work; the transcription of Hindû terms in particular has been rendered throughout more rigorous and complete; but in other respects, the text is unaltered, and the additions, at first, have been committed to the notes.

These last have not merely been brought up to date, so as to give the latest results,¹ but rendered in general more complete than they were in the French edition, to which they had been thrown together in a somewhat hurried fashion. In my regard, they are not calculated to change the character of the work, which has no pretence in its present form, any more than its original, to look anything to adepts in Indianist studies. They can but impart an authoritative weight to my statements, which, except where the original authorities were inaccessible to

¹ The reduction of these notes, begun in the spring of 1880, was not only added in December of the same year. I avail myself of this opportunity to mention the following works, which I have become aware of only after the correction of the proofs—A. Leiszig, *Commentar zur Hymnâ-Uebersetzung*, 1ster Theil, Bonn, 1881. A. Koenig, *Der Hymnâ, die älteste Literatur der Inden*, 2te Auflage, Leipzig, 1881.

Sacred Books of the East, Oxford, 1881: vol. I. *The Dharmaparyâ*, transl. by P. Max Müller; *The Sutta-Nipita* transl. from Pali by W. Farnhill; vol. II. *Buddhist Doctrine*, transl. from Pali by E. W. Hagen Davids. H. Kern, *Geschichte von der Buddhismus in Indien*, München, 1881 (in course of publication). V. Trunç, *Die Religion der Inden nach den Quellen dargestellt*, Leipzig, 1881.

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INSTRUCTIONS.

1. The object of this instruction is to ensure that the work of the committee is carried out in a systematic and efficient manner. It is intended to guide the members of the committee in the performance of their duties and to ensure that the work is completed within the prescribed time and to the satisfaction of the members of the committee.

2. The committee shall be composed of the following members: (a) The Chairman, (b) The Secretary, (c) The Treasurer, (d) The Members-at-Large.

3. The Chairman shall be responsible for the general supervision and control of the committee and for the coordination of the work of the members. He shall also be responsible for the preparation and submission of the committee's report to the Council.

4. The Secretary shall be responsible for the clerical and administrative work of the committee. He shall also be responsible for the preparation and submission of the committee's report to the Council.

5. The Treasurer shall be responsible for the financial management of the committee. He shall also be responsible for the preparation and submission of the committee's report to the Council.

6. The Members-at-Large shall be responsible for the general supervision and control of the committee and for the coordination of the work of the members. They shall also be responsible for the preparation and submission of the committee's report to the Council.

7. The committee shall meet at such times and places as may be determined by the Chairman. The meetings shall be held in the office of the Chairman.

8. The committee shall be authorized to employ such staff and to incur such expenses as may be necessary for the proper conduct of its business.

9. The committee shall be authorized to request such information and assistance as may be necessary for the proper conduct of its business.

10. The committee shall be authorized to make such recommendations as may be necessary for the proper conduct of its business.

THE COLLECTION OF INDIA.

1771-1772

1771-1772

The collection of India is a vast and varied one, embracing a wide range of subjects and a large number of different languages. It is a collection of the most valuable and interesting documents and books that have been preserved in the East. The collection is now in the hands of the British Museum, and is one of the most important and valuable collections in the world. The collection is now in the hands of the British Museum, and is one of the most important and valuable collections in the world. The collection is now in the hands of the British Museum, and is one of the most important and valuable collections in the world.

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The first of these is the doctrine of the Trinity, which is the doctrine of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, who are co-equal and co-eternal, and who are united in one Godhead.

The second of these is the doctrine of the Incarnation, which is the doctrine that the Son of God became flesh and dwelt among us, and that he died for the redemption of the world.

The third of these is the doctrine of the Resurrection, which is the doctrine that the Son of God rose again from the dead, and that he will return to judge the living and the dead.

The fourth of these is the doctrine of the Church, which is the doctrine that the Church is the body of Christ, and that it is the only true Church, and that it is the only Church that has the power to bind and loose on earth and in heaven.

The fifth of these is the doctrine of the Sacraments, which is the doctrine that the Sacraments are the outward signs of inward grace, and that they are necessary for the salvation of the soul.

The sixth of these is the doctrine of the Moral Law, which is the doctrine that the Moral Law is the law of God, and that it is the only law that binds the conscience of man.

The seventh of these is the doctrine of the Final Judgment, which is the doctrine that all men will be judged by God at the end of the world, and that they will be rewarded or punished according to their deeds.

The eighth of these is the doctrine of the Kingdom of God, which is the doctrine that the Kingdom of God is the reign of God on earth, and that it is the only true Kingdom, and that it is the only Kingdom that has the power to bind and loose on earth and in heaven.

The ninth of these is the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, which is the doctrine that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of God, and that he is the only true Spirit, and that he is the only Spirit that has the power to bind and loose on earth and in heaven.

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Published by the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610. The Journal is published weekly, except during the summer months, when it is published bi-weekly. The subscription price is Five Dollars per Annum in Advance. Single Copies, Fifteen Cents. Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 3, 1918. Postpaid. Accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917. Authorized by Act of October 3, 1917. Paid for postage by addressee. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes in this journal to THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610.

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THE LIFE OF JAMES M. SMITH

James M. Smith was born in the town of ... on the ... day of ... in the year ...

He was educated in the common schools of his native town, and at the ... Academy ...

He was a member of the ... Church, and was ordained a minister of the Gospel in the year ...

He was a member of the ... Society, and was a faithful and devoted member of the same ...

He died on the ... day of ... in the year ... at the age of ... years ...

Indra breaks in pieces,¹—has given rise to myths, but he does not become a god ■ in the Semitic religions.

Ushas naturally takes rank next the sun; she is the Aurora, and the most graceful creation of the Hymns, ■ bright and airy figure that hovers on the uncertain border-land of poetry and religion, so transparent is the personification, and so uncertain are we whether it is to the object evoked that the poet addresses himself, or whether it is not rather God whom he adores in his works.² The case is quite different with regard to the two *Ācvinas*, the horsemen. It is not easy to explain either the reason of their name or their physical meaning. It is obvious that they are deities of the morning: they are the sons of the Sun and the betrothed of Aurora. On their three-wheeled chariot they make the circuit of the world every day; their whip distils the honey of the dew; it was they who revealed to the gods the place where the soma was hidden, and one part at least of the myths, in which they are always found succouring ■ person in distress, seems to be naturally explained by the deliverance, that is to say, the rising, of the sun out of darkness.³ But neither does all this, any more than the comparison which has been drawn between them and the Dioscuri, render their origin much clearer. Nevertheless they rank among the divinities that are often invoked; they are dispensers of benefits, are possessed of invaluable remedies, and preside at generation.⁴ By this last function they are allied to their maternal grandfather, *Trashtri*, the fashioner, who fabricated the thunderbolt of Indra and the cup of sacrifice, and whose special office it is to form the foetus in the womb,⁵ one of the most curious characters in the Vedic

■ Rig-Veda, iv. 28, 2, &c.

■ Nothing more charming than these hymns to Aurora is to be found in the descriptive lyrical poetry of any other people. Rig-Veda, i. 48, 113, 123, 124; iii. 61; vi. 64; vii. 77, 78.

■ Rig-Veda, i. 34, 10; iii. 39, 3; viii. 9, 17; i. 118, 5; iv. 43, 6; i. 157, 3, 4; v. 76, 3; i. 116, 12; 119,

9. See A. Weber, Ind. Stud., v. 234; L. Myriantheus, Die Ācvinas oder arischen Dioskuren, 1876.

■ Rig-Veda, i. 34, 3-6; 157, 5; x. 184, 2, 3; Ath.-Veda, ii. 30, 2. See Taitt. Samh., ii. 3, 11, 2.

⁵ Rig-Veda, i. 32, 2; 20, 6; 188, 9; x. 10, 5; 184, 1; Taitt. Samh., i. 5, 9, 1, 2.

Pantheon, in ■ mythological point of view, but of slender account in ■ religious one. He has close affinities with Agni, of whom he is at times the father.¹ He has other children besides: *Saranyu*, the hurrying cloud, who has connection with Vivasvat, the sun, and *Vicvarūpa*, the many-fashioned, a monster with three heads, who is likewise ■ personification of the storm, and who expires under the blows of Indra.² He himself maintains ■ struggle with Indra, who ventures into his dwelling to ravish from him the soma. He is at once creator and evil-doer,³ and the only power really invoked who partakes ■ much of the demon as of the god. As workman of the gods, he has the *Ribhus* as rivals, a set of genii, ordinarily three in number, who by their works attained to immortality. They are distinguished for having divided into four the one cup of sacrifice which Tvashtri had fashioned.⁴ Here again what is nothing more than a myth has sometimes been taken for history; for we hear of the religious reform wrought by the Ribhus, and of their admission among the gods.⁵ Notwithstanding their vague and hardly intelligible nature, they are frequently invoked, and they partake daily of the evening offering.

The solar myths naturally lead us to those which are connected with the life beyond the grave; for in India, ■ elsewhere, it is a solar hero who rules over the dead. *Yama* is, in fact, a son of Vivasvat, the sun.⁶ He might have lived ■ ■ immortal, but he chose to die, or rather he incurred the penalty of death, for under this choice a fall is disguised.⁷ He was the first to traverse the road from which there is no return, tracing it for future generations. It is there, at the remotest extremities of the heavens, the abode of light and the eternal waters, that he

¹ Rig-Veda, i. 95, 2; x. 2, 7.

■ Rig-Veda, x. 17, 12; 8, 8, 9.

■ Rig-Veda, iii. 48, 4; iv. 18, 3; x. 110, 9; ix. 5, 9; ii. 23, 17.

⁴ Rig-Veda, iv. 35, 8; i. 20, 6.

■ See Fr. Nève, *Essai sur le mythe des Ribhavas, premier vestige de l'apothéose dans le Vêda*, 1847.

⁶ Rig-Veda, x. 14, 1; 17, 1.

* ■ Rig-Veda, x. 13, 4.

reigns henceforward in peace and in union with Varuna. There by the sound of his flute, under the branches of the mythic tree, he assembles around him the dead who have lived nobly. They reach him in a crowd, conveyed by Agni, guided by Pûshan, and grimly scanned as they pass by the two monstrous dogs who are the guardians of the road. Clothed in a glorious body, and made to drink of the celestial soma, which renders them immortal, they enjoy henceforward by his side an endless felicity, seated at the same tables with the gods, gods themselves, and adored here below under the name of *Pitris*, or fathers. At their head are, of course, the first sacrificers, the minstrels of other days, Atharvan, the Angiras, the Kavyas, the Pitris by pre-eminence, equal to the greatest of the gods, who by their sacrifice delivered the world from chaos, gave birth to the sun, and kindled the stars.¹ It is not improbable there were some who thought it was they whom they saw sparkling at night in the constellations; for India, too, was aware of the old myth which conceives of the stars as the souls of the dead.² These, however, are very far from being the only representations that were given of the future life. As it was not always the custom to burn the dead, we find them conceived of as resting in the earth like a child on the lap of its mother, and dwelling for ever in the tomb, called in consequence "the narrow house of clay."³ It was imagined, too, that when the body was on the eve of dissolution and returning to its elements, the soul went to tenant the waters or the plants.⁴ This last conception, in which there is a sort of first rude idea of the theory of metempsychosis, occurs only in an exceptional

¹ Rig-Veda, ix. 113, 7-11; x. 135; 154; 14; 15; 16, 1, 2; 17. Compare Atharva-Veda, iv. 34, 2; Rig-Veda, i. 125, 5; 154, 5; x. 56, 4-6; 68, 11; 107, 1.

² Rig-Veda, i. 125, 6; x. 107, 2; Taitt. Br., i. 5, 2, 5. The myths that relate to the seven Rishis (the stars of the Great Bear) and to

Agastya (Canopus) are of ancient date: Rig-Veda, x. 82, 2; Çatap. Br., ii. 1, 2, 4; Taitt. Ar., i. 11, 1, 2; see besides Mahâbhâr., iii. 1745-1752.

³ Rig-Veda, x. 18, 10-13; vii. 89, 1.

⁴ Rig-Veda, x. 58; 16, 3.

way in the hymns of the Rig-Veda. This notion to belong to religious beliefs of a lower type, which this collection despises, and the existence of which we shall have occasion to refer to after. Anyhow, the simple fact that the practice of incineration had become general presupposes a highly spiritualistic idea of death. The Hymns are much less communicative in regard to the destiny in store for the wicked. They either perish or go under the earth into deep and dismal pits, into which are cast along with them the demons, the spirits of deception and destruction.¹ The Atharva-Veda is cognisant of an infernal world,² but there is no description of hell, and we learn nothing of its torments.³

This very imperfect glance at the myths connected with the principal divinities will perhaps be enough to show out of what elements India has collected the objects of its worship. We shall not perform the same task for the other figures of the Pantheon. Not only would the mere enumeration of these be too tedious, since every object in the visible creation, as well as every idea of the mind, is capable of elevation to the rank of gods; they belong rather to the history of the myths than to that of religion. They are either abstract personifications, often very ancient indeed, such as *Parandhi*, abundance, *Aramati*, piety, *Asunâti*, blessedness, *Mṛityu*, death, *Mānyu*, wrath (these two last being masculine); or deified objects, such as *Sarasvatî* and *Sindhu*, which are at once rivers and goddesses; or mere symbols, such as the different forms of the solar bird or the courser of the sun; or, in fine, ancient representations which have scarcely emerged from the penumbra of the myth, such as the *Gandharva*, *Ahi Budhnya*, the dragon of the abyss, *Aja Ekapād*, the one-footed boulder

¹ Rig-Veda, iv. 5, 5; vii. 104, 3; on the future life, all chap. xv. of ix. 73, 8. that excellent work. According to

² Atharva-Veda, xii. 4, 36. Benfey, *Hermes*, Mino, Tartaros,

³ See, however, Atharva-Veda, v. in the *Memoirs of the Roy. Society of Göttingen* for 1877, the conceptions of Tartarus and the Inferi are and, in general, the Vedic ideas Indo-European.

■ goat, *Guṅgā*, *Sinīvālī*, *Rākā*, goddesses who preside at procreation and birth, and who were early identified with the phases of the moon,—all indistinct figures, which are still invoked because their names occur in the old formulæ, though they no longer mean anything of any account for the religious sentiment. Expressions indicative of the gods in general also became at length proper names of certain classes of divine beings, such as the *Vicvedevas*, properly “all the gods,”¹ and the *Vasus*, the bright ones, of whom Indra or Agni is the chief. We shall have ■ better opportunity hereafter of considering ■ few of the more essential conceptions.

Among this crowd of deities,—of which there is often mention of thirty-three, or three times eleven,² once of three thousand three hundred and thirty-nine;³ in the Atharva-Veda this last number is still further increased, the Gandharvas alone amounting to six thousand three hundred and thirty-three,⁴—there are some which cut ■ greater figure than the rest, but there is, properly speaking, no hierarchy. There is an interminable variety of ranks, and a confusing interchange of characters. This, to a certain extent, is a feature common to every religion depending directly on the myth. Myths are, in fact, formed independently of one another; they regard the same object in different aspects, and among different objects they seize the same relations. As they radiate from divers centres, they mutually interpenetrate each other and issue of course in a certain syncretism. If Greece, for example, had transmitted to ■ her ancient liturgies, we would, we may be sure, have found in them ■ very different state of things from the beautiful order which has been introduced by the light and profane hand of the muse on the classic Olympus. But in the Hymns

¹ We know that the most general name for the deity, *deva*, to which the Latin *deus* corresponds, signifies properly bright-shining or luminous.

² Rig-Veda, i. 45, 2; 139, 11. There ■ 35: Rig-Veda, x. 55, 3.

³ Rig-Veda, iii. 9, 9.

⁴ Atharva-Veda, xl. 5, 2.

there is more than a simple want of classification. Not only "are there," as is somewhere remarked,¹ among these gods, who rule one another and are begotten from one another, "neither great nor small, neither old nor young, all being equally great," but the supreme sovereignty belongs to several, and we find at one time absolute supremacy, at another the most express subordination assigned to the same god. Indra and all the gods are subject to Varuna, and Varuna and all the gods are subject to Indra. There are kindred assertions made of Agni, Soma, Vishnu, Sûrya, Savitri, &c.² It is somewhat difficult to arrive at an accurate conception of the mode of thought and feeling which these contradictions imply. They are no mere exaggerated expressions uttered in the fervour of prayer, for these would not have been collected and preserved in such numbers; neither does it seem possible to refer them to differences of epoch or diversities of worship. They form, in truth, one of the fundamental traits of the Vedic theology. As soon as a new god is evoked, all the rest suffer eclipse before him; he attracts every attribute to himself; he is the God; and the notion, at one time monotheistic, at another pantheistic, which is found in the latent state at the basis of every form of polytheism, comes in this way, like a sort of movable quantity, to be ascribed indiscriminately to the different personalities furnished by the myth. Another process by which this vague sense of the want of unity is relieved is by identifying one god with several others. There is, perhaps, not a single figure of note which has not given occasion to some such fusion. It is thus that Indra is in turn identified with Brihaspati, Agni, and Varuna; that Agni is said to be Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman, Rudra, Vishnu, Savitri, Pûshan.³ There is none, up to the formula so frequent in the Brâhmanas, "Agni is all the gods," which we do not meet with already in the

¹ Rig-Veda, viii. 30, 1. The contrary of this is said Rig-Veda, i. 27, iii. 9, 9; ix. 96, 5; 102, 5; i. 156, 4; viii. 101, 12; ii. 38, 9.

² See a selection of passages in Rig-Veda, v. 69, 4; i. 504, 3; Muir's Sanskrit Texts, t. v. p. 219.

Hymns.¹ Doubtless this superior insight into the divine nature is not to be met with to the same extent in all the Vedic poets; with many of them, all that is said to their gods amounts to this, "Here is butter; give us cows;" but it exists in many of them, and not a few had the power of expressing it in language that we cannot but admire.

Thus the myth here is no more than a subordinate element, the mere substratum for a higher reality. It tends to return to what it originally was—a mere symbol. Its most definite features lose their sharpness, and continue to survive only in isolated allusions and ready-made phrases. In a developed and concrete form it becomes embarrassing, whether when it offers a conception of the gods which looks mean, gross, or even loathsome, or when it simply represents them in an aspect too human, too epic, and in a sense too familiar for the religious consciousness, now grown more exacting. The authors of the Hymns have thus discarded, or at least left in the shade, a great number of legends which existed previously, those, for example, which referred to the identification of Soma with the moon,² what was fabled of the families of the gods, of the birth of Indra, of his parricide, &c.³ In this way a long list could be drawn up of what might be called the reticences of the Veda. In this connection it is particularly interesting to see how they have treated the myths which relate the manifold intermarrying that forms the basis of all mythologies, the union of a male divinity with a female being, conceived almost always as irregular, and very often incestuous. This union lies no less at the basis of a great number of representations in the Veda. All the gods there are conceived as begetters of offspring, males or

¹ With a slight variation, Rig-Veda, v. 3, 1.

² The myth which places the ambrosia in the moon appears to be Indo-European. Soma is identified with the moon, Rig-Veda, x. 85,

2-5. It is also as lunar god that he is the husband of Sūryā, the daughter of Savitṛi, the sun conceived as a feminine deity, ib. 9, and that he presides over menstruation, ib. 41.

³ Rig-Veda, iv. 18.

bulls; they ■■■ lovers of the *Waters*, the *Mothers*, the *Gndās* (genetrices), of the *Apsaras*; the Undine class, of *Apyā Yoshī*, the wife of the waters, who is capricious and wanton, and they are at once their ■■■ and husbands. It would, however, be difficult to extract from the Hymns ■ chapter on the amours of the gods. With very few exceptions, everything is resolved into brief rapid hints, isolated features, or mere symbols. With the exception of Aurora, the goddesses here have only a featureless physiognomy, and the most conspicuous gods are hardly alluded to in these stories. Once only is Indrāṇī, the wife of Indra, the unchaste Venus;¹ once only is there mention made of the relations of Varuṇa with the Apsaras,² of whom, however, he is, agreeably to his origin, the true lover. In this capacity he gives place to the Gandharva, ■ being purely mythical.³ In this there certainly appears a touch of moral delicacy, which it would be unjust not to acknowledge. In the dialogue between Yama and his sister Yamī,⁴ for instance, the attempted incest is spurned, and yet it is almost certain that originally Yama yielded to the temptation. But when we consider how crude often the language of the Hymns is, we feel justified in affirming that this scruple was not the only one which induced the Vedic minstrels to pass hurriedly over these myths, and that ■ this matter we must also take into account their aversion to speak of the gods in too definite terms. Sometimes it seems, indeed, that this was the subject which chiefly occupied them; and it is not without a certain annoyance that we see them often striving to render themselves unintelligible, and in ■ manner to bury their ideas under a confusion of incongruous identifications. In this respect India already appears in the Veda what she has ever since continued to be. In the very first words she utters, we find her aspiring after the vague and the mysterious. It

¹ Rig-Veda, x. 86, 6. And the passage, besides, is interpolated.

² Rig-Veda, vii. 33, 11.

³ Rig-Veda, x. 10, 4; 11, 2; 123,

5. ■ Rig-Veda, x. 10.



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so it was yesterday, and ■ consequently was it ■ far back as the first of the days. Hence arose the myths which represent sacrifice as the first act in the cosmogony. It was by sacrifice—it is not said to whom—that the gods delivered the world from chaos, just as it is by sacrifice that man prevents it from lapsing back into it; and the dismemberment of the primeval giant, Purusha, whose skull was fabled to form the heavens and his limbs the earth, came to be regarded in India as the first act of sacrifice.¹ What is more, the gods being inseparable from the world, their existence must have been preceded by sacrifice; hence the singular myth which represents the Supreme Being as sacrificing himself in order to give birth to all other existences.² Placed thus at the origin of all things, and considered all along as the vital point in all the functions of nature, sacrifice became the centre of ■ vast system of symbols. The lightning and the sun are the sacred flame of it, the thunder is the hymn, the rains and rivers are the libations, the gods and the celestial apparitions are the priests, and so conversely. The ceremonial act itself, with its fine arrangement, is identified with the *rita*, the order of the world; and the altar is regarded ■ the womb of the *rita*, the mystic heaven from which Varuna and the great gods keep watch over the universe. All these notions, and many more besides, are mingled so

what to make this wheel turn is unworthy to live." It is said also in Manu, iii. 75, 76, "By sacrifice the house-master sustains this movable and immovable world. Cast into the fire, the offering goes into the sun; from the sun is produced the rain; from the rain the nourishment; from the latter the creatures are produced." The same passage occurs again in Maitri Up., vi. 37. The allegorical imagery, so common in the literature from the Upanishads onwards, in which universal production and life are likened to ■ series of sacrifices or libations, is connected with the same order of ideas.

Chând. Up., iii. 16, 17; v. 4-8; Brih. Ar. Up., vi. 2, 9-14; vi. 4, 3. There is here a sort of second religion, ■ religion of *opus operatum*, a sort of ritualistic pantheism, in which the divine personalities fill only ■ subordinate part, and which from the era of the Hymns had deeply affected the consciousness. For information in regard to this side of the religious beliefs of the Veda, we would particularly refer to A. Bergaigne's work, already quoted, "*La Religion Védique d'après les Hymnes du Rig-Véda.*"

¹ Rig-Veda, x. 90, 130.

² Rig-Veda, x. 81.

much in the Hymns, play so much one into another, that it is often impossible to tell in what sense we must accept the expressions which stand for them. And as it is with the rite, so it is with the invocation, the prescribed formula, and prayer. It is the expression which gives precision to the act, determines the object of it, and assigns to it in some sort its direction. It is, or in it lies, the hidden energy which gives it efficacy. This energy is the *brahman*, properly power of growth, invigoration, ■ word famous before every other, and the history of which is in a sense that even of Hindu theology. In the Hymns *brahman* is very often the name for prayer, and in this case it may take the plural, but it never loses its original meaning of force, of subtle and, in a sense, magical energy. Being the soul of sacrifice, the notion which is formed of it has naturally grown with that of sacrifice itself. It is the work of the gods; it is by it that they act; it is by it also that they are born and that the world has been formed.¹ What strikes us in these theories quite as much as the notions themselves is the prodigious elaboration which they have undergone, and that from the most remote antiquity; for here we cannot doubt that the ideas presented belong to the same date as that of the oldest hymns, to such ■ degree do they pervade all parts of the collection. These alone are sufficient to prove, if necessary, how profoundly sacerdotal this poetry is, and they ought to have suggested reflections to those who have affected to see in it only the work of primitive shepherds celebrating the praises of their gods as they lead their flocks to the pasture.

■ Rig-Veda, x. 130; Atharva-Brahmanaspati. Prayer was begotten in heaven. Rig-Veda, iii. 51, 8, and the myths of Vâc and 39, 2.

.II.

BRAHMANISM.

I. RITUAL.

Gradual extension and general character of the religion of the Atharva-Veda, the Yajur-Veda and the Brâhmanas.—Changes introduced into the pantheon.—Still greater changes in the spirit and institutions.—The Brahman ■ member of a caste.—Formation of ■ sacred language and literature.—The Brahmacharya and the Brahmanical schools.—Ritualism and formalism: the rites come to the foreground and the gods retire into the shade.—Sketch of the cultus according to the Brâhmanas and the Sûtras.—The Grihya ritual: the ancient Smṛiti and the Dharma.—The Çrauta ritual: ishti and somayâga.—Aristocratic, expensive, and bloody character of this worship: animal sacrifice; human sacrifice; the anumarana, or the suicide of the widow.—The authorised religion of the Brahmans recognised neither images nor sanctuaries.—Propagated, its exclusive spirit notwithstanding, among foreign races, in the Dekhan, and as far as the Sunda Islands: the Veda at Bali.

THE geographical region of the Hymns extends from the valley of Cabul to the banks of the Ganges, and perhaps beyond; but the true country of their birth, that in regard to which they supply the most data, is the Punjâb.¹ In the age that follows, which we have now reached, we see the religions of the Veda advancing eastward, and gradually taking possession of the vast and fertile plains of Hindustan. From the epoch of the Brâhmanas their centre is no longer in the basin of the Indus, the tribes of which

¹ Its limits are these: On the west the Kubhâ (Rig-Veda, v. 53, 9; x. 75, 6), the *Κωφῆς* of the Greeks, the river Cabul and its affluents, and the Gandhâris (Rig-Veda, i. 126, 7), ■ tribe of the valley; the Rasâ, which corresponds with the Zend ■ of the Jaxartes, appears to be mythical in the Rig-Veda (Aufrecht, *Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xiii. 498). On

are, on the contrary, regarded with mistrust;¹ but on the Sarasvatî, in the Doâb, between the Jumna and the Ganges, and even farther east, on the Gomati and the Gogra. On the east and south they came into contact with the tribes which inhabit the shores of the Eastern Sea and the other side of the Vindhya mountains.² This change of place very considerably affected their organisation. The order of the priesthood asserted itself more rigorously. An event, besides, was not long in occurring which had a decisive effect on their destiny: the language of the old Hymns gradually ceased to be understood. From the epoch of the Brâhmanas it had become unintelligible to the multitude, and even obscure to the priests.³ There arose thus a sacred language, and, in a narrow sense, sacred texts, to which it became more and more difficult, and finally impossible, to make any addition. From this moment these religions became, up to a certain point, stereotyped. They will doubtless continue to be still susceptible of modification in many respects, and especially of complication; but in the main they will be forced henceforth to subsist on their original capital; they will no longer be able to adapt themselves to great innovations; and the inevitable changes which time will bring will take place

the east, the Sarayu (Rig-Veda, iv. 30, 18; v. 53, 9), the modern Gogra, and the tribe of the Kikatas (Rig-Veda, iii. 53, 14) in Bihâr. The authors of the Hymns had a certain acquaintance with the sea. For the geography of the Vedas, consult Vivien de Saint Martin (*Étude sur la Géographie du Véda*, 1859), Lassen (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, i. 643 seq., 2d ed., 1867), A. Ludwig (*Die Nachrichten des Rig- und Atharva-Veda über Geographie, Geschichte, Verfassung des alten Indien*, 1878), H. Zimmer (*Altindisches Leben; die Cultur der Vedischen Aryer nach den Samhitâ dargestellt*, 1879, ch. i.).

¹ Çatap. Br., ix. 3, 1, 18.

² Athar.-Veda, v. 22, 14; Aitar. Br., vii. 18, 2; viii. 22, 1.

³ From this date we meet with prescriptions for the maintenance of the purity of the language among the Brahmanas: Çatap. Br., iii. 2, 1, 24. The language of the Brâhmanas is already pretty much, indeed, the classical Sanscrit, and it differs from that of the Hymns more than the Latin of Lucretius does from that of the Twelve Tables. That the authors of these treatises only imperfectly understand these old hymns is obvious at every step, from their exegesis even, and their attempts at etymology. We must not, however, insist too much on this last argument; there is at bottom more fancifulness than real ignorance in these interpretations.

more and more beyond their pale, and assume, in consequence, an attitude opposed to them.

And, in fact, notwithstanding numerous modifications in detail, the theology of the Atharva-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, and the Brâhmanas is not at bottom very different from that of the Hymns. The pantheon is enlarged, it is true, by a certain number of subordinate figures. *Soma-Candramas*, the moon, the *Nakshatras*, or constellations,¹ the *Chandas*, or Vedic metres,² appear for the first time, or else proceed to play a more active part in the drama. At the same time, the door has been opened wide for the admission of a host of allegorical personifications, spirits, demons, and goblins of every shape and genealogy,³ which, though unknown to the Hymns, are not, therefore, necessarily all of new creation; while, on the other hand, certain old mythic representations, which we find making a great figure in the Rig-Veda, show signs of retiring. Still the circle of the great divinities remains much the same, although we observe among them a more systematic organisation, and that not a few of them are in process of transformation. Prajâpati is now their unchallenged head, and the conception of a triad in Agni, Vâyû, Sûrya, the fire, the air, and the sun, as summing up the divine energies—a conception which we shall come upon again as we proceed—asserts itself more frequently. At the same time, the formalism which prevails in these writings tends to a multiplying of the number of the gods through the per-

¹ See A. Weber, *Die Vedischen Nachrichten von den Naxatra*, 2d part, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Berlin* for 1861, p. 267 *seq.*

² See, among others, the beautiful myth of Gâyatri going in the form of a falcon to ravish the Soma from the third heaven: *Taitt. Samh.*, vi. 1, 6, 1-5; *Taitt. Br.*, iii. 2, 1, 1; *Aitar. Br.*, iii. 25-28. Compare *Taitt. Samh.*, ii. 4, 3, 1. A. Weber has collected the most of the speculations of the Brâhmanas in reference to the *Chandas* in his memoir, *Vedische Angaben über Metrik*, in *Ind. Stud.*, viii.

³ See a lengthened enumeration of the spirits and goblins in *Ath.-Veda*, viii. 6, and the great number of exorcisms in relation to diseases considered as possessions; as, for instance, *Ath.-Veda*, ix. 8; in particular, in reference to Yakshma and Takman (see V. Grohmann, *Medicinisches aus dem Atharva-Veda*, in *Ind. Stud.*, ix. 381 *seq.*). Compare also the prayer in deprecation of the demons which attack infancy in *Pâraskara Gr. S.*, i. 16, 23, 24.

sonification of their attributes. Thus Agni Vratapati is not quite the same person as Agni Annapati, Agni Annavat, Agni Annâda; and these, in their turn, differ from Agni Kâma, Agni Kshâmavat, Agni Yavishtha, &c. Soma is decisively confounded with the moon; he is the husband of the Nakshatras, the constellations of the lunar zodiac.¹ Yama is still always the king of the Pitris, but he is no longer so closely identified with the blessed life: the pious man hopes to go to *svarga*, which is rather the heaven of Indra and of the gods in general.² As for the wicked man, he will go into hell, where tortures, which are described at length, await him; or else he will be born again in some wretched state of being,—metempsychosis appearing in this way under the form of an expiation.³ Asura, the old name of the divine powers, is henceforth applied only in a bad sense. The Asuras are now the demons,⁴ and their struggle with the gods in general, which is one of the commonplaces of the Brâhmanas, only very remotely reminds us of the celestial battles celebrated in the Hymns. Aditi is most frequently identified with the Earth. Aditya is a name for the sun, and the Adityas, who begin now to be fixed at twelve, are once for all solar impersonations. Varuna passes into the status of a god of night, who is both hostile and cruel, and his empire is already confounded with that of the

¹ Taitt. Samh., ii. 3, 5, 1-3; compare ii. 5, 6, 4. In the Rig-Veda he is the husband of Sûryâ, x. 35, 9. Compare Ait. Br., iv. 7, 1.

² The recompense ordinarily guaranteed to sacrifice in the Brâhmanas is the enjoyment of the *svarga*, heaven, or the *ślokatâ*, community of abode with such or such a god. The memory of the ancient sojourn of the blessed with Yama is not, however, completely forgotten. See the description of his palace, Mahâbhârata, ii. 311 seq. There are in the Upanishads very detailed descriptive accounts of the different worlds of the

blessed: Brihadâr. Up., iv. 3, 31; Taitt. Up., ii. 8, and especially Kaushît. Up., i. 3-5.

³ See A. Weber, Eine Legende des Çatapatha-Brâhmana über die strafende Vergeltung nach dem Tode, in the Zeitsch. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch., t. ix. p. 237. The legend, according to the Jaiminiya-Brâhmana, has been published by A. C. Burnell, A Legend from the Talavakâra Brâhmana of the Sâma-Veda, Mangalore, 1878.

⁴ Taitt. Samh., i. 5, 9, 2; Ait. Br., iv. 5, 1, represent them as powers of darkness or night.

Waters.¹ The gods in general tend to assume the place and form they will retain in the epic poetry. These specialisations, however, which, in an age more given to criticism than to poetry, are the necessary consequence of the vagueness of the conceptions that prevailed before, and which had all, besides, links of connection with the Hymns, are far from being steadily maintained, and the contrary tendency in the form of an unbridled syncretism is quite as common in these writings. The most serious novelty of this class (one which we shall come upon again as we proceed) appears in certain legends and fragments relegated especially to the Yajur-Veda, and which presuppose that the religion of Çiva is already in an advanced stage of development.

But if the theology of the religions of the Veda has not changed much, great changes, on the other hand, have taken place in their organisation, and even in their spirit. We have already insisted on the sacerdotal-character of the Hymns; it is clear that from their time the offices of the priesthood constituted distinct professions, and that they were hereditary, although we are not able to say to what extent the heredity was fixed.² At the time of which we are now speaking, however, there is in this matter no longer room for doubt. The Brahman, the man devoted to prayer and the science of theology, is a member of ■ caste.³ By means of ■ secret virtue which is transmissible only through the blood, he alone is qualified to celebrate the

¹ Ath.-Veda, xiii. 3, 13; vii. 83, 1; Taitt. Samh., ii. 1, 7, 3; ii. 1, 9, 3; iii. 4, 5, 1; vi. 6, 3, 1-4; Taitt. Br., i. 6, 5, 6; Çāṅkhāy. Br. in the Ind. Stud., ix. 358.

² See J. Muir, On the Relations of the Priests to the other Classes of Indian Society in the Vedic Age, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, new series, vol. ii.; H. Kern, Indische Theorien über den Standenvertheilung, 1871; and H. Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 194 seq.; only this author, like the ■ majority of German scholars, looks at the sub-

ject ■ little too much through the medium of the modern ideas of the Culturkampf.

³ See A. Weber, Collectanea über die Kastenverhältnisse in den Brâhmaṇas und den Sûtras, in Ind. Stud., t. x. The theory of the four castes, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiçyas, and Çûdras, who were brought forth respectively from the mouth, the arms, the thighs, and the feet of Brahmâ, is already formulated in the hymn of the Purusha, Rig-Veda, x. 90, 11, 12.

rites of religion with effect, and there are very few acts connected with worship which he has not appropriated the right to perform. He for whom he officiates stands by in ■ more or less passive attitude, incapable in general of understanding what is said and done in his presence and for his benefit. Nay, the part the Brahman himself performs is reduced to a minimum; he no longer prays, he only says prayers. In order to vitalise by the word a set of ceremonies prescribed beforehand, he has only certain formulæ, all ready-made, to work with. Inspiration, the outburst of individual enthusiasm, has no more a place in the cultus he presides over, and the living springs of pious devotion seem all dried up. The great and only business now is to know the *brahman*,—that is to say, the sacred texts, their use, and the secret exegesis of them as handed down by tradition; to know the rites of religion with their hidden and mystic meanings.¹ The subjects of this knowledge, the rites, *i.e.*, as well as the texts, are conceived of as pre-existent, and represented at one time as of eternal ordination, at another as the institution of Prajâpati. Of those who, whether men or gods, make use of them for the first time, it is said that they “see” them;² revelation being thus conceived of not as a fact which takes place all at once, but as a series of successive facts. There were therefore no obstacles *a priori* to the introduction of new rites, and, in fact, the ceremonial, as well as the speculations of which it was the subject, continued to expand and grow in complexity, until the day when, as ■ new and opposite current set in, it reached a limit beyond which it could only become poorer and weaker instead of richer.

■ Every indication in the Brâhmanas is invariably followed by the phrase, “Such or such a benefit will accrue to him who knows this.” These secrets of knowledge are often nothing more than fantastical etymologies, for “the gods love the inscrutable,” Aitar. Br., iii. 33, 6; Gopatha. Br., i. 1, &c.

■ Hence the etymology which

derives from the root *dric*, to see, the word *rishi*. This, from the general signification of poet or inspired singer, which it has in the Hymns, ■ at length to assume the special sense of prophet or seer of a revealed text. This etymology is older than Yâska, who refers to it, Nirukta, ii. 11.

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simple; they can be gone about with fewer preparations and a less numerous assemblage of priests; in particular, they can be performed by means of ■ single fire, whilst the acts celebrated according to the developed ritual require at least three of them. The domestic rites may be considered as the smallest number of observances incumbent on a chief of respectability and piety, and particularly on a Brahman. These rites are almost the only ones, in the main, which the Brahmans, who pride themselves on fidelity to their ancient usages, still observe in part to our own day. They comprehend: 1. The sacramental observances,¹ which the father either performs himself, or, if he is not a Brahman, sees performed for his children, from the day of conception till that in which the child, if he is a boy, passes under the authority of a master. 2. The initiation, in which the youth receives from his master or *guru*, along with the sacred cord, a knowledge of the principal mantras; in particular, the famous verse of the *Sāvitṛī*.² From this moment, which is considered as his spiritual birth, he is *dvija*, that is to say, is born ■ second time, and henceforth directly responsible for his acts.³ This

¹ The Samskāras. These ceremonies are variously enumerated. Gautama, who includes under this denomination ■ complete list of all the religious acts, reckons them at forty (viii. 14-21); compare Manu, ii. 27, 28. But usually only the ten ceremonies of purification, binding on every Hindu of good caste, are so designated. 1. Garbhādhāna, a rite which is to procure conception. 2. Pumsavana has for its object to quicken the foetus in the womb and to bring about the birth of ■ male child. 3. Sīmantonnayana, a ritual act which consists in parting the hair of the head of the woman during pregnancy. 4. Jātakarman, a ceremony at birth: before cutting the umbilical cord, the new-born infant is made to taste honey and clarified butter from a gold spoon. 5. Nāmakarana, the giving of the name. 6. Nishkramana, when the

child is first taken out to be shown the sun or the moon. 7. Annaprāṇa, when it is for the first time presented with rice for food. 8. Cūḍākarman, the tonsure, when only ■ tuft of hair is left on the top of the head. 9. Upanayana, initiation. 10. Vivāha, marriage. To this list is sometimes added the Keçānta or Gōdāna, when they celebrate the day ■ which the young man first shaves his beard; and the Pretakarman, funeral obsequies. The Samskāras are likewise prescribed, but without mantras, for women, with the exception of initiation, for which in their case marriage is substituted. Manu, ii. 66, 67; Yājñav., i. 13.

² This mantra, which should be repeated several times a day, is usually (for there are several) the verse to Savitṛī, Rīg-Veda, iii. 62, 10.

³ Gautama, ii. 1-6.

initiation is ■ duty binding upon all free men.¹ He who evades it lapses, both himself and his race, into the condition of *vratya* or *patita*, that is, a person excommunicated, lost.² As a rule, it should be succeeded by a longer or shorter noviciate, consecrated to the acquirement of a knowledge of the Veda,³ though it is evident that it properly concerned the Brahmans alone to occupy themselves with theological study. 3. There were the obligations resting on the master of the house; the institution, for example, of the domestic hearth, the rites of marriage, the daily offerings to the gods and to ancestors, the formalities to be observed towards guests and Brahmans, the daily repetition of the sacred texts, or at least of certain prayers, as well as of ceremonies of different sorts observable at stated days, funeral rites and funeral offerings (*Crâddha*), considered as a debt which is transferred from one generation to another, and on the payment of which depends the happiness of the dead in the next life;⁴ to which add ■ great number of acts of dedication or expiation, and the observance of occasional ceremonies. The practice of these

¹ Aṣvalāy. Gr. Sūtra, i. 19, 8, 9; Pāraskara Gr. Sūtra, ii. 5, 39-43; Apastamba Dh. Sūtra, i. 1, 23-i. 2, 10; Manu, ii. 38-40; 168. There is no initiation for women, neither for the Cûdras, nor *a fortiori* for inferior grades.

² Manu, x. 20; 43; Apastamba, Dh. S., i. 1, 23-i. 2, 10, where we find indicated, at the same time, the conditions of reinstatement. Compare Manu, xi. 191, 192; Yājñav., i. 38. The rite of excommunication is described, Gautama, xx.; Manu, xi. 182-188; Yājñav., iii. 295-297. He on whom it falls is considered to be both civilly and religiously dead. In so far as reinstatement does not intervene, he is likened to the members of the lowest castes, with this difference only, that there is a limit to his degradation, whilst impurity of caste is indelible in the individual himself and his male descendants.

In the female line, in the course of ■ unbroken succession of marriages with men of superior birth, caste gains in nobility by one degree at the end of the seventh generation. Apast. Dh. S., ii. 11, 10; Gautama, iv. 22; Manu, x. 64-65; Yājñav., i. 96.

³ Aṣvalāy. Gr. Sūtra, i. 22, 3; Pārask. Gr. Sūtra, ii. 5, 13-15; Apast. Dh. Sūtra, i. 2, 12-16; Manu, iii. 1.

■ In general this happiness depends on the good works of their descendants. The idea that the dead share ■ *punya* or *pāpa*, i.e., the merit or demerit of the living, was early familiar to India. See, for example, Gautama, xv. 22; Manu, iii. 150. Almost all legal deeds of gift contain the formula that the gift is made "for the ■ of the *punya* of the donor and that of his father and mother."

observances extends through the entire life of the faithful, unless, with the approach of decay, he, in observance of a more rigid custom, hands over the care of his household and his affairs to his son, when, renouncing henceforth all active business, he retires into solitude to prepare for death. The Sûtras, which preserve to us the details of this cultus, are not simple ritual treatises; their subject is the *dharma*, namely, duty in a larger sense, and their precepts respect alike established custom, civil right, and moral law. What is remarkable, we find here, among other matters, a theory and a very complete classification of moral transgressions. It is in this legislation, which constitutes the ancient *Smṛiti*, or traditional usage, and from which proceed at a later date the Dharmaśāstras, or codes of laws, such as that of Manu, that Brahmanism appears to best advantage; and, indeed, if we would do it justice, it is of importance that we should not forget the sound, solid, and practical morality which is laid down here.¹ The very ancient and always ingenious and suggestive symbolism which invests the majority of these usages is often of very great beauty; and from the whole there stands forth the image of a life at once grave and lovable, and which, though bristling somewhat with formalities, is nevertheless serviceably active, and nowise morose or inimical to joyfulness of heart.²

Quite as binding in theory, but doubtless of more limited observance in practice, are the acts of the developed ritual, which demand the kindling of at least three sacred fires.³

¹ The code of Manu, which is a kind of résumé of the *Smṛiti*, contains a perfect encyclopædia of moral teaching.

² The funeral and marriage ceremonies, as well as those connected with offerings to the Manes, as prescribed in this ritual, are the subject of three highly exhaustive monographs: Max Müller, *Die Todtenbestattung bei den Brahmanen*, in the *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*,

t. ix.; E. Haas, *Die Heirathsgebräuche der alten Inder nach den Grihyasûtra*, with additions by A. Weber, in the *Ind. Studien*, t. v.; O. Donner, *Pindapitriyajña, das Manenopfer mit Klößen bei den Indern*, 1870.

³ A. Weber has commenced a general exposition of the *Ārauta* ritual, the basis of the *Kātyāyana S.*, in the *Indische Studien*, t. x. and xiii. B. Lindner has made a special study

The institution of these fires, which should coincide with the close of the noviciate, forms by itself alone a ceremony of the first order, which is minutely described in the Brâhmanas, and certain details of which are repeated afterwards as integral parts of all the subsequent ceremonies. These are either *ishtis*, which are characterised by offerings of cakes, soups, grain, butter, milk, honey, &c., or *somayâgas*, in which to the majority of the offerings afore-mentioned is added that of the soma. Of the *ishtis*, one is of regular daily observance, the *Agnihotra*, which is celebrated morning and evening. The others recur at stated periods, such as the days of the new or full moon, the commencement of each of the three seasons, the return of the two harvests of spring and autumn. As regards the sacrifices of the soma, the rule is to celebrate one at least in the course of each year. The *Vâjapêya*, or strengthening beverage, the *Râjasûya*, or royal consecration, the *Açvamêdha*, or sacrifice of the horse, which are the princely sacrifices *par excellence*, are somayâgas. The offering of the soma, which is referred to as recurring constantly in the Hymns, thus turns out to be an exceptional event now; the reason is that of all these offerings it is the most expensive. Sometimes the rite of the soma, properly so called, apart from its preliminary and final ceremonies, lasts only a day, but ordinarily it takes several. When it takes more than twelve, it is a *sattra*, or session. There are *sattras* which last several months, a whole year, and even several years; in theory there are some which last 1000 years. But, whether short or long, these ceremonies require elaborate preparations and entail enormous expense. Every time the place where they are celebrated must be prepared

of the ceremony of consecration, which forms the introduction to every somayâga: Die Dikshâ oder Weihe für das Somaopfer, 1878. The author has devoted particular attention to the recovery of the original meaning and form of the rite. A

carefully elaborated monograph has just been published devoted to another ceremony of the same ritual, the Darçapûrnamâsau, by A. Hillebrandt: Das Altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer in seiner einfachsten Form, 1880.

anew, with its double fence, its divers booths, and its altar of bricks of an extremely intricate construction.¹ Open table must be kept for the Brahmans, alms given at times, games organised, specially chariot races,² and gifts of cattle, gold, garments, and food distributed under the title of *dakshinâ*, or pay, among the numerous array of priests and assistants. The other rites likewise require the gift of a *dakshinâ* by way of present; but ordinarily it is less considerable. In general, the official cultus of Brahmanism is an aristocratic cultus, and is competent only to the chiefs of tribes and men of wealth and ability. Even the domestic ritual, when observed according to all the directions prescribed, implies at the least the possession of some little competency.

All these sacrifices are either binding, whether at stated times or on the event of certain occasions, or else voluntary, that is to say, performed at the instance of the believer for the fulfilment of certain specific vows. Each of them is celebrated in a series of acts of extreme complexity, and if we were to reckon up all the varieties specified in the texts, we would find they amounted to certainly more than 1000.³ They are all accompanied

¹ See G. Thibaut, on the Çulva-Sûtras, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, t. xliv.

² See Taitt. Br., i. 3, 6.

³ There are several classifications of the sacrifices. One of the commonest, and also the simplest, is that which is given, for example, by Gautama, viii. 18-20. 1. The seven kinds of Pâkayajñas, or little sacrifices; these are those of the domestic ritual: Ashtakâ (the eighth day of the four winter months, from October-November to January-February), Pârvaṇa (the days of new and full moon), Çrâddha (funeral oblations), Çrâvaṇi, Agrahâyaṇi, Çaitri, Aṣvayujî (the days of full moon from July-August, from November-December, from March-April, and from September-October). We may add the five daily oblations called

emphatically the five Mahâyajñas, or great sacrifices: oblations to the gods, the pitris, creatures in general, and the rishis (acts of beneficence and hospitality and recitation of the Veda, these two obligations being regarded as yajñas—i.e., oblations). 2. The seven kinds of Haviryajñas or ishtis: Agnyâdhaya (the setting up of the sacred hearth), Agnihotra (the daily oblation in the three sacred fires), Darçapûrṇamâsau (ishtis of the full and new moon), Agrayana (the oblation of the first-fruits of the harvest), Çaturmâsya (at the beginning of each of the three seasons), Nirûdhapagubandha (the animal sacrifice, effected separately, not as an integral part of another ceremony), and Sautrâmanî (a ceremony which is usually an epilogue to certain sacrifices).

with an entertainment provided for the Brahmans.¹ Originally they were themselves feasts, and they are so still in a symbolic sense; in token of which the participants, priests and yajamâna, consume each a small portion of the different offerings. Instead of the soma, the use of which is now the exclusive privilege of the Brahmans, another liquid is substituted to the same effect, in the case in which the yajamâna does not belong to the priestly caste.² This rite, which constitutes a real communion between the

The seven kinds of sacrifice of the soma: Agnishtoma, Atyagnishtoma, Ukthya, Shodagin, Vajapeya, Atirâtra, and Aptoryama. These last cannot be characterised in few words; we shall therefore content ourselves with remarking that these names are not so much designations of ceremonies, properly so called, as they are norms to which the latter may be more or less referred. The same remark, though in a modified degree, applies to the two preceding groups. For a detailed exposition see A. Weber in the *Ind. Stud.*, x. p. 322 *seq.*

¹ Apastamba Dh. S., ii. 15. 12.

² Ait. Br., vii. 28-32, and A. Weber in the *Indische Studien*, x. p. 62. There are, however, contrary indications (*Catap. Br.*, v. 5, 4, 9; in Weber, *ibid.*, p. 12); and in epic poetry Somapa, drinker of the soma, remains as an attribute of the ancient kings. We believe we must see in this prohibition not so much a privilege to which the sacerdotal caste laid claim as an explanation from a Brahmanical point of view of a very simple fact, the neglect into which the use of the soma had fallen. In the *Rig-Veda* though there were from the date of it other spirituous beverages in use, such as the surâ (originally, as is like, a kind of cervisia; see *Atharva-Veda*, ii. 26, 5, and *Taitt. Br.*, i. 7, 6, 9), the soma appears as a beverage in common and profane use. In the *Brâhmanas*, on the other hand, it seems to be employed exclusively in the service of religion. "The soma, it

is said, is the sovereign nourishment of the gods; the surâ that of men." *Taitt. Br.*, i. 3, 3, 2-3; see also injunctions such as *Taitt. Samh.* ii. 1, 5, 5-6. Might not this difference be due to a difference that had taken place in the quality of the beverage itself? There is, I am aware, a passage in A. Weber's writings somewhere, which we regret we cannot at present identify, in which he gives expression to his doubts as to the identity of the soma of the *Rig-Veda* and that of later times. For our part we think it would be very difficult to conclude that the beverage which the Hymns celebrate as delicious, which they describe as madhu, madhumat (honey, honied), and the immoderate use of which they testify to, is the soma of the *Brâhmanas*, which appears to have actually been the detestable liquor Haug tasted and describes (*Aitareya Br.*, vol. ii. p. 489). This last is a sickening and purgative drug. *Catap. Br.*, iv. 1, 3, 6; *Taitt. Samh.*, ii. 3, 2, 5-7; compare *Taitt. Br.*, i. 8, 5, 5, and *Sâyana ad locum*, *Taittiriya-Saṃhita*, vol. ii. pp. 202, 203, edition of the *Bibliotheca Indica*. According to the same commentary, p. 406, it was vulgarly employed as a vomit. See on this subject H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 276, who comes to the same conclusion. Perhaps it is not out of place to remark that in the later mythology it is not to Soma, but to another god, Varuna, that spirituous beverages are referred.

priests, the believer, and the gods, is the one of all the Vedic usages which has best survived; and we shall meet with it again in the majority of the sectarian religions. In fine, a great many of these sacrifices require animal victims. In the domestic ritual the act of sacrificing them is resolved for the most part into a purely symbolic act, but in the developed ritual it remained longer in force. Several *ishtis* are very bloody. As regards the *somayâgas*, the rule is that there are none without *paçu*, that is to say, without victims; and in the case of some, the number of the victims required is such that if we were to interpret the texts literally, the classic hecatomb would appear as a bagatelle in comparison with these butcheries. There is reason to believe, however, that in these cases the sacrifice did not take place.¹ In the case of some, at any rate, there is the direct evidence of the texts that the animals, after having been brought formally to the altar, were in the end set at liberty. In general the more recent the texts are the more does the number of the symbolic victims increase and that of the real ones diminish; but even with these abatements the Brahmanical cultus remained for long an inhuman one.

Among these victims, which consist of all imaginable kinds of domestic and wild animals, there is one which recurs with an ominous frequency, viz., man.² Not only are there traces of human sacrifice preserved in the legends, as well as in the symbolism of the ritual, but this sacrifice is expressly mentioned and formally pre-

¹ In the *Brâhmanas* a tendency to a less bloody sacrifice already appears; see the legend given in *Aitar. Br.*, ii. 8, and *Çatap. Br.*, i. 2, 3, 6 (Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 420, and A. Weber, *Zeitsch. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, t. xviii. p. 262), according to which the *medha*, the property of the victim, passes in succession from the man to the horse, from the horse to the cow, from the cow to the sheep, from the sheep to the goat, from the

goat to the earth, and finally into the barley and the rice, which thus contain the essence of all the victims, and constitute the best of the offering.

² A. Weber has exhausted this subject in his memoir, *Ueber Menschenopfer bei den Indern der vedischen Zeit*, in the *Zeitsch. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, t. xviii.; see also H. H. Wilson, on Human Sacrifices in the Ancient Religion of India, in his *Select Works*, t. ii. p. 247.

scribed. All the great somayâgas, ■ a rule, exact one or more human victims, and one of these is quite naïvely called the *Purushamêdha*, that is, the sacrifice of man. The texts speak differently in regard to these rites. At one time they represent them ■ fallen obsolete (in reference to one of them they have even preserved for us the name of him who was to celebrate it for the last time¹); but they maintain them, as ■ rule, and protest against their abolition; at another time they conceive of them as purely symbolic acts; while at another they simply speak of them as usages in full force, and this in such a way that it is not always possible for us to assign to these discrepancies their connection chronologically. It is difficult to decide definitely among testimonies so conflicting, especially in view, on the one hand, of the silence of the Hymns (for we can see no indication of it in the sacrifice described in the hymn of the Purusha), and in view, on the other hand, of the doctrine, which we find growing in favour from that day, of the *ahimsâ*, or respect for all that has life. Must we see in these rites only a relic of primitive barbarism, the survival of one of those usages which the religion of the Hymns rejects? Are they to be viewed as an aberration in later times of the religious sense? Or is there not here only one of those merely theoretical extravagances with which this literature abounds, an extravagance that had arisen in certain morbid brains haunted with the idea that man, since he is the noblest of creatures, must also be the most prized of victims? The details supplied by the texts, however, are at times so precise, that it appears to us this last hypothesis, taken by itself, has small chance of turning out to be the true one. Notwithstanding the extremely slender trace of the practice in question to be met with in the Hymns,² the most pro-

¹ Çyâparṇa Sâyakâyana, according to Çatap. Br., vi. 2, 1, 39, ■ the last who consecrated the erection of the altar by the immolation of ■ human victim.

■ A more precise one occurs in Ath.-Veda, xi. 2, 9, and is quoted by A. Weber in the Ind. Stud., xiii. p. 292. The whole passage is in the style of the Brâhmaṇas.

bable explanation seems to us to be that Aryan India did in fact profess and practise human sacrifice from the remotest times, but only as ■ rite that was exceptional and reprobated, and that to silence the reprobation with which it was regarded it required all the professional cynicism which displays itself so frequently in the Brâhmanas and the Sûtras, and the hazy indistinctness which results from their esoteric character.¹ On the other hand, a custom which is no less barbarous, but which continued to the present time, and could beyond a doubt reckon its victims by myriads, the immolation, viz., more or less voluntary, of the widow on the funeral pile of her husband, is not sanctioned by the Vedic ritual, although certain hints in the symbolism connected with funerals (particularly in the Atharva-Veda) come very near it, and in a measure foreshadow it.² In the Atharva-Veda we see the widow could marry again³ under certain conditions, which in the course of time orthodox usage strictly debarred her from doing. The custom of the suicide of the *satî* is nevertheless very ancient, since, as early as the days of Alexander, the Greeks found it was observed among one of the tribes at least of the Punjâb.⁴ The first Brahmanical testimony we find to it is that of the *Bṛihaddevatâ*, which is perhaps of quite as remote antiquity; in the epic poetry there are numerous instances of it. At first it seems to have been peculiar to the military aristocracy, and it is under the influence of the sectarian religions that it has especially flourished. Justice

¹ The Purushamedha of the old Brahmanism must be carefully distinguished from the human sacrifice which we shall meet with later ■ in the cultus connected with Durgâ.

■ Rig-Veda, x. 18; Ath.-Veda, xviii. 3, 1 seq. It is precisely on Rig-Veda, x. 18, 7-8, as is known, where the widow is required to leave the funeral pile before the fire is applied to it, that the Brahmans insist in defending the usage as of divine

Duties of ■ Faithful Hindu Widow, in his Miscellaneous Essays, t. i. p. 133, ed. Cowell; and H. H. Wilson, On the Supposed Vaidik Authority for the Burning of Hindu Widows, and his curious controversy on the subject with Râja Râdhâkânta Deva, in his Select Works, t. ii. p. 270.

■ Atharva-Veda, ix. 5, 27-28.

■ Lassen, Ind. Alterthumskunde, t. ii. p. 154; 2d ed., iii. p. 347, among the *Kathaiot*, Onesicrites in

requires us to add that it ~~was~~ only at a period comparatively modern that it ceased to ~~meet~~ with opposition.¹ It was we know finally abolished in the territory subject to the authority of Britain by Lord William Bentinck in 1829.

Up to this point we have said nothing either of images of the gods or of holy places. We cannot, however, altogether evade a question which has been often discussed, Was the religion of the Vedas an idolatrous one? The physical description given in the Veda of the gods, both great and small, is sometimes so precise, there are so many traits in it bordering on fetichism, and a very decided tendency to represent the deity by symbols, and, on the other hand, the human being, as soon as he conceives of his gods under a definite form, is so irresistibly tempted to realise that form in sensible objects, that it is difficult to believe that Vedic India did not worship images. We have no doubt, for example, that the systems of worship belonging to certain local and national divinities, in reference to which we have only indirect and very vague intimations, were at their origin thoroughly impregnated with idolatry and fetichism, as they afterwards continued to be, and that in this regard India has always had its figured symbols, its *caityas* (i.e., sacred trees or stones), its places of frequent resort, its sacred caves and springs, that is to say, its idols and holy places. It would be, in our opinion, to make an undue use of the negative evidence we have, to conclude that all this is modern because the Vedic literature says nothing of it, or does so only at a very late date. Still, in spite of certain indications on which stress has sometimes been laid to prove the contrary,² we think that the Brahmanical cultus, properly so

¹ See A. Weber, *Analyse der Kādāmbarī* (seventh age), in his *Zeitsch. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, t. vii. p. 585. The practice is proscribed in the *Acāras* of Malabar, ascribed to *Çaṅkara*, *Ind. Antiq.*, t. iv. p. 256.

² See F. Bollensen, *Die Lieder des Parāçara*, in the *Zeitsch. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, t. xxii. p. 587; Ludwig, *Die Nachrichten des Rig- und Atharvaveda über Geographie, Geschichte, Verfassung des alten Indien*, pp. 32 and 50. On the question

called, was not affected by these usages, and that it was not idolatrous, and this because it could not be so. In fact, from the moment of our first acquaintance with it, we find it includes distinct sets of ceremonies, but it is not subdivided into distinct cultus systems. There is not one cultus for Agni, another for Indra, ■ third for Varuna, as there was elsewhere distinct systems of cultus for Zeus, Ares, and Apollo. Each of the acts of the Vedic ritual is a complex whole, addressed to a great number of gods, and, if of any significance, however little, to the entire pantheon. These rites did not then admit of images; no more did they admit of holy places. The place where they were performed was either the domestic hearth, which served as well for ordinary purposes, or an enclosure connected with the house, or else, for the great sacrifices, a special arena, as it were, the *devayajana*, a place essentially variable, the dimensions of which, as well as the situation, changed according to the nature and purpose of the ceremonies,¹ and the consecration of which, moreover, was considered at an end after the observance of each rite, since on every new celebration it required to be consecrated anew. Permanence, the very first characteristic, therefore, of a holy place, was altogether wanting, not to mention another equally essential, viz., community. The Vedic altar, in fact, was not a spot that was holy for all; like the sacrifice itself, it served a strictly personal purpose, and, far from uniting men, it isolated them rather. Two neighbours celebrating the same rite at the same hour must choose spots so far apart from each other that the sound of the prayer of the one could not reach the ear of the other.² Neither in such a cultus could there be thought

whether by the *ṣignadevas* of Rig-Veda, vii. 21 and x. 99, we must understand phallic idols; ■ J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. iv. p. 407, 2d ed.

¹ See on this subject *Taitt. Samh.*, vi. 2, 6, 1-4.

■ There must be no clashing

between the mantras. Even the study of the Rig-Veda must be suspended whenever the song of the *sāmans* is heard, and, *vice versa*, the study and repetition of the *sāmans* must not be attempted in ■ place where the mantras of another Veda ■ being repeated. The probable

of places specially consecrated by the presence of the deity. At the very most, the religion of the Brâhmanas attaches a particular sanctity to the fords of the rivers (*tirtha*),¹ where people come to perform their ablutions (and pilgrims would one day resort), and to certain privileged regions,² such as the banks of the Sarasvatî, the Kurukshetra, or that forest of Naimisha, so celebrated later on in the epic poetry. But it has no knowledge either of pilgrimages or of holy places. Thousands of times in the Brâhmanas the sacred enclosure is compared to this lower world, in contrast with heaven; it is never regarded as forming a definite locality, and, as is somewhere said, "when consecrated by the holy word, the entire earth is an altar."³

It appears, then, there is a certain character of universality which it is of importance we should not overlook as a feature in this religion, which in other respects is so objectionably narrow. It is neither local nor even national, in the sense in which certain religions of Greece and Italy were. Thus, although it shows no tendency to proselytise, but the reverse, and although, as a rule, it regards as impure, and excludes from its mysteries as no better

reason for this prohibition is that the sâmans are the only mantras that are heard at a distance. The explanation Manu gives is that the sound of the sâmans suggests a taint of impurity. See Pâraskara Gr. S., ii. 11, 6; Apastamba Dh. S., i. 10, 17, 18; Manu, iv. 123, 124.

¹ Taitt. Samh., vi. 1, 1, 2, 3.

² See the legend of Mâthava Vi-degha, translated from the Çatap. Br. by Weber, in the Ind. Studien, t. i. p. 170 ss.; Ait. Br., ii. 19. The religious geography of Manu is summarised in ii. 17-24. Between the Sarasvatî and the Dri-shadvatî (two small rivers to the north-west of Delhi, near Thanessar) is the Brahmâvarta, the abode of the brahman, within limits prescribed by the gods (see Rig-Veda, iii. 23, 4), to the east of which, as far as the Prayâga or confluence of the Ganges

and the Yamunâ, extends the country of the Brahmarshis, the Brahmanic patriarchs. These two regions form Madhyadeça, the country in the middle, the cradle of the law and good custom. The space contained between the Himâlaya on the north, the Vindhya on the south, and the two western and eastern seas, is Aryâvarta, the abode of the Aryas. This country, which is the haunt of the black deer, is suitable for the celebration of sacrifice. (Compare Yajñav., i. 2.) Beyond these the land of the Mlecchas ■ barbarians stretches away, which is unfit for the celebration of the rites of religion, and where the regenerate must not even temporarily dwell. This is nearly the geography of the Brâhmanas. See Muir, Sanskrit Texts, ii. 397 seq., 2d ed.

³ Çatap. Br., iii. 1, 1, 4. Compare Taitt. Samh., vi. 2, 4, 5.

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ancient Upanishads.¹ Of all this number there is not a single one, perhaps, of which the redaction is of a date anterior to Buddhism. Up to a certain point these are the most direct and trustworthy documents we have from which to construe the condition of things in which the new religion developed; but, taken together, these Upanishads embody a tradition much more ancient, and one which is connected without discontinuity with the very origin of the Brahmanical schools. In the Vedic literature they constitute the *Jñānakāṇḍa*, i.e., the speculative section, in contrast with the rest of the Veda, known by the name of *Karmakāṇḍa*, i.e., the practical section.

The doctrines committed to these books, some of which are selections rather than express treatises, do not form a homogeneous whole. Alongside of views which are really profound, and which give evidence of a singular vigour of thought, they contain a great number of allegories and mystic reveries, that bear either on mythology or ritual, and seem to involve quite a contrary conclusion. But even when rid of these parasitic elements, and reduced in compass to the part that is properly philosophical, they come far short of constituting a system. They have no connection among themselves, and in answer to the permanent problems of human thought concerning God, man, and the universe, they suggest several solutions which are radically opposed. These solutions are at the same time so elaborately worked up in certain of their parts that it is often difficult, and in a summary exposition such as ours almost always impossible, to determine exactly how much of an essential nature may have been added to them by the ages that succeeded. The principal task of those who have fallen heirs to this ancient wisdom will be to pick and sort in this confusion, to refer in some methodical way these incongruous elements to their separate systems,

¹ Brihadāranyaka, Chândogya, Mândûkya. Anyhow, the majority of probabilities is in favour of these Kaushitaki, Içâ, Kêna, Katha, Prâçna, Aitareya, Taittiriya, Muṇḍaka, texts.

and to invent for each of these systems an appropriate and definite mode of exposition. In this way we shall obtain at least three of the different systems or *darśanas* (Sāṅkhya, Yoga, and Vedānta), which, fixed to an indefinite period and to the number of six principal ones, in manuals called Sūtras, will be found to constitute the official philosophy of India.¹ But outside the school, this country will nevertheless remain at heart attached to the manner of philosophising found in the Upanishads. To that its sects will come back again one after another; its poets, its thinkers even, will always take pleasure in this mysticism, with its modes of procedure, at once so vague and so full of contradictions. In speculation, as in everything else, eclecticism, pushed to the extreme of confusion, seems to be the very method of Hindu thinking.

We shall now give, in a summary form, an analysis of such of the doctrines of the Upanishads as are more especially connected with the history of religion; and that we may not be obliged to return farther on to the same subject, we shall indicate at the same time the essential developments they have undergone in the systems properly so called. So far as the Upanishads deal with purely objective philosophy, which they seldom do, their ideas are easily classified and reduced to known categories. Their cosmogony, for instance, and we may add that of the Brāhmaṇas in general, only develop the solutions of which we have already a glimpse in the Hymns. At one time it is a first being conceived as a person,

¹ The most solid and reliable general exposition of the philosophic systems of the Hindus is to this day that executed by H. T. Colebrooke in his famous memoirs, *On the Philosophy of the Hindus*, read from 1823-27 at the meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society, published in vols. i. and ii. of the *Transactions*, and reprinted in the author's *Miscellaneous Essays*. The fundamental Sūtras of the six principal systems, Sāṅkhya,

Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṃsā, and Vedānta, have all been published at different times, in particular from 1851-54 in the editions of Allāhābād and of Mirzapore, in which the text is accompanied with an English translation. With the exception of the Yoga-Sūtras, they — also edited, texts and commentaries, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. The edition of the Mīmāṃsā-Sūtras is, however, not finished.

Prajâpati, viz., or an equal (once we find *Mṛityu*,¹ or Death), who, tired of his solitude, "emits," that is to say, draws forth from himself, everything that exists, or who begets it, after having divided himself in two, the one half male, the other half female.² At another time, this first personal and creative being is represented as himself proceeding from ■ material substratum:³ in the mythic form, he is *Hiranyagarbha*, the golden embryo, *Nârâyana*, "he who reposes on the waters," and *Virâj*, the resplendent, who issued from the world-egg. In both of these cases we have to do with uncertain pantheistic conceptions, which practically resolve themselves into that pale and shallow deism which India has often confessed with the lips, but which has never won the homage of her heart. Besides these two solutions there is still a third. Instead of organising itself under the direction of ■ conscious, intelligent, divine being, the primary substance of things is represented as manifesting itself directly without the interposition of any personal agent, by the development of the material world and contingent existences.⁴ It is then simply, and by whatever name it may be dignified, the *asat*, the non-existent, the indeterminate, the indistinct, passing into existence—chaos, in other words, extricating itself from disorder by its own energies. When systematised, this solution will on one side have its counterpart in the metaphysics of Buddhism, while on the other it will issue in the Sâṅkhya philosophy. The latter, in fact, admits a primary material cause, the *prakṛiti*, one, simple, eternal, essentially active and productive, the source of intellectual energies, as well as of visible and tangible matter, of intelligence, consciousness, and the senses,

■ Bṛihadâr. Up., i. 2.

Çatap. Br., x. 5, 3, the first principle is *manas*, i.e., thought.

² Gopatha Br., i. 1; Bṛihadâr. Up., i. 4; Chândog. Up., vi. 2; Praçna Up., i. 4; vi. 3; Aitar. Up., i. 1; Çvetâçvat. Up., vi. 1. This emission is very frequently represented as a sacrifice. See besides Taitt. Samh., ii. 1, 4. In the

■ Nṛsimhatâp. Up., i. 1; Çatap. Br., xi. 1, 6, 1; Taitt. Samh., v. 6, 4, 2; vii. 1, 5, 1.

■ Chândog. Up., iii. 19; Taittir. Up., ii. 1; ii. 7.

as well as of the subtle elements which compose the higher organisms and the grosser elements of which bodies are formed. Outside of this material development, the Sâṅkhya admits only of individual souls, all equal, eternal, and indestructible, essentially unmodifiable and passive, producing nothing and doing nothing. The prakṛiti energises and manifests itself in order to unite with the soul or the *purusha* (for this word, borrowed from certain old dualistic myths, and signifying properly the male, occurs always in the singular, in contrast with the prakṛiti, although the purusha is essentially multifold, and there is no supreme soul). The part performed by the soul is confined to contemplating these manifestations, to giving itself up to this union in which the existence of individual beings is realised, to experiencing its pleasures and disgusts, until the day when, fully satiated, and recognising itself as radically distinct from matter, it breaks partnership with it and returns to its primeval liberty. In this system there is room for beings of every kind, superior and inferior to man; for if all souls are equal, all the modifications of the prakṛiti with which they may unite, are not so. But there is hardly need to add that these beings, in so far as they are capable of reciprocal actions, are all finite, and that, philosophically viewed, the system is atheistic. And therefore, at a later date, when we shall find a certain orthodoxy take shape, it will appear in the religious literature (where it has all along played a prominent part) only in combination with other doctrines, which, with more or less of logical warrant, will introduce into it the idea of God. In the most ancient Upanishads, on the other hand, in which the ideas that have come out in the Sâṅkhya are already in general favour, as well as in Buddhism, where they predominate, the system is not yet a dualistic one.¹ We do not yet find opposed to the prakṛiti a purusha radically distinct: everything

¹ In the more recent Upanishads, is in point of doctrine exactly on the same level as the Bhagavad-Gitâ. — the other hand, it is no longer — The Cvetâcvatara Up., for instance.

issues indiscriminately from the same blind and dark root, and we have to do in the passages where these ideas are asserted only with a materialistic and atheistic explanation of the universe.

There is in these treatises still a fourth solution, which to such an extent eclipses all the rest that it may be considered as the philosophy proper of the Upanishads, viz., the pure pantheism which is destined to assume its ultimate form in the system of the Vedânta. But this master doctrine is exactly the one which there is most risk of distorting when we attempt to reduce it to any accepted metaphysical formula. In fact, it is not with a simple *a priori* conception that we have to do here; pure speculation here depends on subjective theories, and we here for the first time come upon it endeavouring to construe God and the universe by starting from man. A minute analysis too would be necessary in order to guard against misapprehension. At bottom, all the efforts of these theosophists tend towards one single aim, which has been that of all mystic pantheists, the real identity, namely, of subject and object, of man and God. But their manner of arriving at it here is so peculiar—they start from such a distance, with data that are so innocently assumed, and which they never dream of verifying by the way, they make so many digressions, they halt so long at certain stages and move on so rapidly at others—that in order to follow them aright it would be necessary to traverse the whole road along with them; and that would be a long journey indeed. We shall try to indicate, anyhow, the point from which they embark, and their point of landing.¹

They appear to have started from the idea that the principle of life which is in man, the *âtman*, or self (for the word was especially in use as a reflex pronoun, so that “to know the *âtman*” and “to know one’s self” were synonymous), is the same as that which animates nature.

¹ In the exposition which follows wise we should require to adduce suppress the references: other— the half of the ancient Upanishads.

This principle in man appeared to them to be the *prāna*, the breath; the air, or something more subtle than air, the ether, being the *âtman* in nature. Or else the *âtman* was a small being, a homunculus, ■ *purusha*, which had its seat in the heart, where it was felt stirring, and from which it directed the animal spirits. Here it sat at its ease, for it was not larger than the thumb. It could even make itself still smaller, for it was felt making its way along the arteries, and could be distinctly seen in the small image, the pupil, which is reflected in the centre of the eye. A *purusha*, quite similar, appeared with dazzling effect in the orb of the sun, the heart and eye of the world. That was the *âtman* of nature, or rather it was the same *âtman* which thus manifested itself in the heart of man and the sun; an invisible opening at the top of the skull affording a passage for it to go from the one dwelling-place to the other. Gross as these conceptions are, they have nevertheless served as a point of departure for one of the most imposing and subtle of the systems of ontology yet known in the history of philosophy; and not only have they formed its point of departure, but what is much more surprising, they continued to form one of its principal axioms. To arrive at their doctrine of identity, or, as they call it, *advaita*, i.e., of non-duality, the Hindu theosophists have more than others been reduced to make large demands on the spontaneous sweep of the thought. They had not the resources of a subtle psychology at their service to establish it in a more learned manner, nor those hypotheses concerning ideas, the logos, or the pure reason, that legacy from Greek philosophy from which other mystic sects have profited so much. Thus they have never for once, even when they must have seemed to them perplexing, given up those old popular ideas, of which pre-intimations occur already in the Hymns,¹ and to which assent was given without reflection

¹ The *purusha* seated in the heart ■ in Rig-Veda, x. 90, 1. Compare Athar. Veda, x. 8, 42.

from mere force of habit. Up to the last they will go on speculating about the âtman breath and ether, the âtman-purusha of the heart, the eye, and the sun.

On the other hand, the point at which they have arrived is this: the âtman is the one, simple, eternal, infinite, incomprehensible being, assuming every form, and itself without any, the only, yet immovable and immutable agent, the cause of all action and all change. It is both the material and efficient cause of the world, which is its manifestation, its body. This it draws from its own substance, and again absorbs into it, not by necessity, however, but by an act of its own will, as the spider spins forth and draws back into itself the thread of its web. From it proceed and to it return all finite existences, just as sparks leap from the furnace and fall back into it again, whilst the multiplicity of these existences no more affects its own unity than the formation of the foam and the wave affects that of the sea. More subtle than an atom, greater than the greatest of existences, it has nevertheless a dwelling, the cavity of the heart of every man. It is there that it resides in its fulness, and that it rests rejoicing in itself and its works. This direct and material immanency of the absolute being in the creature, which is the unreasoned and mystic assumption of the system, is also its connecting bond. Thanks to this fact, man has power over the âtman. By intense meditation, aided by operations in which a fanciful physiology plays a prominent part (for there is not a little materialism at the bottom of all these conceptions), he has only to make his soul literally re-enter his heart again in order to bring it into contact with the supreme unity, and enable it to be conscious of itself in that unity. Here, it is true, there arose some puzzling questions. What room would there be for this soul, this individual âtman, this *jîvâtman* identical with the *paramâtman*, the supreme âtman, and yet distinct, capable of self-consciousness in it and yet ignorant of it? How concede personality to it in presence of the absolute

being? How deny this to it without imputing to that being ignorance, error, and weakness? What becomes of the theory of one sole agent, alongside of the assumption that it is in the power of the soul to initiate its return to the âtman? For it is the soul which goes to the âtman, not the âtman which brings it back to itself; and the notion of grace, with which India will become familiar at a later date, is as good as foreign to the primitive Vedânta.¹ These are difficulties, and there are others besides, which the authors of the Upanishads are not the only people who have had to face; and it is not astonishing that they have not resolved them. They describe the states of the jîvatman; they enumerate its organs; they show it involuted in a succession of concentric material envelopes, more and more dense, which constitute its organs, and restrict in different degrees its sphere of action and range of knowledge.² As the image of the sun is distorted and deceptively multiplied in agitated water, so the jîvatman has only distracted and mistaken conceptions. It sees only diversity, makes the distinction of *me* and *thee*, and perceives nothing beyond; but by meditation, conducted according to the rules of true science, it can dissipate all these vain images; it sees then that there is only an âtman, and that this âtman is itself. If the point is to show it in action, it is spoken of as a distinct reality given in experience; if, on the contrary, the subject is its relation to the paramâtman, the said reality disperses; and all particularity is treated as pure illusion. In this way the different aspects of the problem are confusedly exhibited, but the problem itself is by no means resolved. No more do the Sûtras, in which the old Vedânta received its final form, resolve this problem. The author or authors of these Sûtras,

¹ To the best of our recollection it occurs distinctly formulated only in a single passage common to the Katha Up., ii. 23, and to the Mundaka Up., iii. 2, 3: "This âtman be obtained neither by means of the Veda nor by force of understanding,

— by great knowledge; he whom it chooses, that one obtains it; it chooses the person of that — as its own." See Bhagavad-Gîtâ, xi. 53.

² Taittir. Up., ii. 2-8, and the long description, Maitri Up., ii. 5-iv. 2.

who have imposed on themselves the knotty task of presenting in a didactic and methodic shape the apocalyptic visions of the Upanishads, and who, except in the cases in which they by main force refer to the Vedânta certain passages that are in fact inspired by a totally different philosophy, have discharged this task with a truly noble fidelity, do, in fact, concede to the individual soul and to finite beings in general a practical experimental existence, but they deny to them reality in the absolute sense of the term. Thus they come at length to maintain, for instance, the existence of a personal God,¹ of an *Içvara* or Lord, distinct both from the world which he governs and from the Absolute, a notion which is not unfamiliar to the ancient Upanishads, but foreign, as it could not help being, to passages purely Vedântic. But, for all that, the doctrine of being taught in the Vedânta Sûtras, although it is more elaborated, does not perceptibly differ from that of the old texts. It is only in the philosophy of the sects, in what may be called the new Vedânta, in certain Upanishads of more recent date, in the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ* and in the *Vedânta Sâra*, that an attempt will be made to formulate with any exactness a radical solution. In this system, the finite world does not exist; it is the production of the *Mâyâ*, of the deceptive magic of God, a mere spectacle where all is illusion, theatre, actors, and piece alike, ■ "play" without purpose, which the Absolute "plays" with himself.² The ineffable and the inconceivable is the only real.

The doctrine of illusion is not, however, peculiar to the Vedânta; it affected the core of the Sâṅkhya philosophy as well. The prakṛiti of this last was identified with the Mâyâ; and the puruṣa, from the manifold which it was in

¹ See Pramadâ Dâsa Mitra, "A Dialogue on the Vedantic Conception of Brahma," in the Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc., t. x. p. 33. Compare Çaṅkara on the Vedânta Sûtra, iv. 3, 7 seq., p. 1119, ed. of the Bibliotheca Indica. For the doctrine of Çaṅkâra ■ F. H. Windischmann,

Sancara, sive de Theologumenis Vedanticorum, Bonnæ, 1833; and especially A. Bruining, Bijdrage tot de Kennis van den Vedânta, Leiden, 1871.

² See Bhartṛihari, iii. 43, ed. Bohlen.

the original system, became the one and the absolute being. Under this new phase, the Sâṅkhya and the Vedānta differ only in terminology and the details of exposition. The Bhagavad-Gītā, for instance, and several Upanishads,¹ are connected ■ much with the one system as with the other. Or rather, for it matters little how we expound and denominate things which we deny, there is in these writings only one system, pure idealism, very closely related to the other extreme, pure nihilism. The Sâṅkhya and the Vedānta, in their twofold form, will almost by themselves alone meet all the demands made upon the metaphysical systems of the Vishnuite and Īvaite religions. Of the four other great official systems, the *Yoga* is rather a manual of mystic exercises than a philosophy; the *Nyāya* (logic and criticism) and the *Vaiśeṣika* (the physical theory of the world) treat too remotely of religious matters to find place here; and, finally, the *Mīmāṃsā* is only the extension, in the form of a critical examination, of the ritualistic literature of the Brâhmaṇas and the Smritis. It is opposed to speculation; it recognises the gods only so far as they are specially mentioned in the liturgical formulas, and several of those who profess to teach it² explicitly refuse to concede the Vedic quality, that is to say, the quality of revealed scripture, to the *Jñānakāṇḍa*, i.e., to everything which does not bear directly upon the cultus.

It would be to give a quite imperfect idea of the Upanishads, however, if we emphasised only the purely metaphysical side of them. These singular books, though of ■ character so heterogeneous, are still more practical than speculative. They address themselves more to man as man than to man as thinker; their aim is not so much to expound systems as to teach the way of salvation.

¹ For example, the Çvetâçvatara Up.

² The school of Prabhākara. See Satyavrata Sāmaçramin's notes in his edition of the Sāma-Veda, vol. i.

pp. 2, 4, Bibl. Indica. In regard to this atheistic and merely ritualistic school, see moreover Burnell's Classified Index of the Sanskrit MSS. in the palace at Tanjore, ii. 84.

They are pre-eminently exhortations to the spiritual life, perplexed and confused indeed, but delivered at times with ■ pathos that is both lofty and affecting. It seems as if the whole religious life of the period, which we miss so much in the ritualistic literature, had become concentrated in these writings. Notwithstanding their pretensions to mystery, they are in the main works that aim at proselytism, but a proselytism prosecuting its task within a limited circle. The tone which prevails in them, especially in their manner of address and in the dialogue, in which there is at times a touch of singular sweetness, is that of a preaching which appeals to the initiated. In this respect nothing in the literature of the Brahmans so much resembles a Sûtra of Buddhism as certain passages of the Upanishads, with this difference, however, that for elevation of thought and style these passages far surpass all that we as yet know of the sermons of Buddhism. When that remarkable man, Râmmohun Roy, who undertook at the beginning of this century to reform Hinduism, expressed his belief that if a selection were made from the Upanishads it would contribute more than any other publication to the religious improvement of his people, he was not the victim of an altogether groundless delusion. It is on this, the religious and practical side of the Upanishads, that we have still to say a few words.

After the brief sketch which we have given above of the doctrine of these books, it is hardly necessary to say that, in the view of their authors, the separated condition of the soul, which is the cause of mental error, is also the cause of moral evil. Ignorant of its true nature, the soul attaches itself to objects unworthy of it. Every act which it performs to gratify this attachment entangles it deeper in the perishable world; and as it is itself imperishable, it is condemned to ■ perpetual series of changes. Once dragged into the *samsâra*, into the vortex of life, it passes from one existence into another, without respite and without rest. This is the twofold doctrine of the *karma*, i.e., the act by which the soul determines its own destiny,

and of the *punarbhava*, i.e., the successive re-births in which it undergoes it. This doctrine, which is henceforth the fundamental hypothesis ~~common~~ to all the religions and sects of India, is found formulated in the Upanishads for the first time. In the most ancient portions of the Brâhmanas it appears of small account, and with less range of application. The faith we find there seems simply to be that the man who has led an immoral life may be condemned to return into this world to undergo here an existence of misery. Re-birth is only a form of punishment; it is the opposite of the celestial life, and tantamount to the infernal. It is not yet what it is here, and what it will continue to be eventually, the state of personal being, a state which may be realised in endlessly diverse forms of being, from that of the insect up to that of the god, but all of equal instability, and subject to relapse.¹ It is impossible to fix the period at which this old belief found in the new metaphysical ideas the medium favourable to its expansion; but it is certain that from the end of the sixth century before our era, when Çâkyamuni was meditating his work of salvation, the doctrine, such as it appears in the Upanishads, was almost complete, and already deeply rooted in the popular conscience. Without this *point d'appui* the spread of Buddhism would hardly be intelligible.

As the state of separation and ignorance is for the soul a fallen state, so the cessation of that state, the return to unity, is salvation. As soon as the soul has acquired the perfect immediate certainty that it is not different from the supreme âtman, it no longer experiences doubts or desires. It still acts, or rather the consequences of its previous actions still act for it, almost as the wheel of the potter continues to revolve when the workman has ceased to turn it. But as water passes over the leaf of the lotus without wetting it, so these acts no longer affect the soul. It attaches itself no longer to anything; it no longer sins;

¹ Brihadâr. Up., iv. 4, 5, 6; vi. 2, 16; Chândog. Up., v. 1-8; Mundaka Up., i. 2, 10, &c.

in the brain, and thence conveyed it back into the heart, where the supreme âtman holds his seat. It is useless, however, to dwell on these processes, to which ■ strange physiology may lend a certain appearance of singularity, but which reappear again in almost the same terms in the stock-in-trade of many other sects of the enlightened. They have been collected and expounded *ex professo* in the system which more particularly bears the name of *Yoga*. Conscientiously observed, they can only issue in folly and idiocy; and it is, in fact, under the image of a fool or an idiot that the wise man is often delineated for us in the *Purâṇas*, for instance.¹

We are not required to judge here of the speculations of the Upanishads, nor to insist more at large on the conclusions to which this first attempt at the philosophy of the absolute would inevitably lead. It is only too evident how little disposed this system is to subject itself to the test of experience, how much it fosters spiritual pride, that sin of the race with which the Greeks were so struck when they first came into relation with the Brahmans;² how, even when stripped of its extravagances, it tends to enervate the conscience, and what ■ melancholy idea, in short, it presupposes of life. This last aspect of the matter has often been insisted on; and in these aspirations after ■ state which, in our view, is very much akin to annihilation, some would have heard the wail of ■ people unhappy and tired of life. This is an explanation which we, for our part, think must be accepted with extreme reserve, even in regard to Buddhism, which has, however, been much more inclined to the pessimist theory of life. The premises once assumed, the metaphysical deductions

¹ See the legend of King Bharata, Vishnu P., ii. ch. xiii. t. ii. p. 316 of the translation by H. H. Wilson, ed. Hall; and the vow of folly, the "unmattavrata," *ibid.*, i. ch. ix. t. i. p. 135.

² See the narrative of the inter-

view of Onesicritus with the Brahmans in Plutarch, Alexander, lxv.; Strabo, xv., cap. lxiv., lxv.; Megasthenis *Fragmenta*, pp. 140, 141, ed. Schwanbeck. Compare the legend of Raikva, Chândog. Up., iv. 1 and 2.

follow with somewhat of the rigour of fate; and even if we ventured to seek them there ■■■ so little, they must follow from the primary assumptions of the system, which have nothing in common with disgust of life. These doctrines, therefore, appear to us to be from the first much ■■■ instinct with the spirit of speculative daring than the sense of suffering and weariness. It is, nevertheless, true that they are far from wearing a serene aspect, and that, notwithstanding their unquestionable sublimity, they have had in the end ■ depressing effect upon the Hindu mind.¹ They have accustomed him to recognise no medium between mental excitement and torpid indifference, and they have in the end impressed upon all he produces ■ certain monotonous character, compounded of satiety and ungratified zeal. For (and it is the last remark which we have to make here) these doctrines will not only be transmitted in the school as a philosophic system, but all the aspirations, good and bad, of the Hindu people will henceforth find in them their fit expression. They will supply to all the sects ■ theological science of ■ high order. Some will be inspired by them as with an ideal, and under their inspiration will arise at intervals ■ set of works of incomparable elevation and delicacy of sentiment, while others will drag them down to their own level, and treat them as a repertory stored with commonplaces. The less religious will borrow from them the externals of devotion; the baser sort and more worthless will wrap themselves up in their mysticism and appropriate their formulæ. It is with the word *brahman* and deliverance on his lips that the alchemist will form to himself ■ religion of his search for the philosopher's stone, that the votaries of *Kâlî* will slaughter their victims, and certain of the *Çivaites* will give themselves over to their riotous revels. It is not easy to explain declensions ■ profound ■ these, happening alongside of such works as

¹ See P. Regnaud, *Le Pessimisme Brâhmanique*, in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. i.

the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*, the *Kural*, and even certain portions of the *Purâṇas*; and no literature so demonstrates as this does the vanity of mysticism and its inability to found anything that will prove durable. The number of times that minds of no ordinary stamp have in this way tried to reconstruct the work of the Upanishads is truly prodigious. The majority of these attempts differ from each other only in certain details of facts, and we shall not have any need even to enumerate them. What may be said of all of them is, that they are always, and very drearily too, telling the same story over and over again; at the outset an effort full of spirit and instinct with lofty aims, followed soon after by an irredeemable collapse, and, as final result, a new sect and a new superstition.

It is, therefore, not surprising that in the course of those idle, barren discussions, rugged good sense has at times had its revenge, and that to such day-dreams it has been able to reply with scepticism, scoffing, and cynical negation. As early as the *Rig-Veda*, we find mention of people who denied the existence of Indra.¹ In the *Brâhmanas* the question is sometimes asked if there really is another life;² and the old scholiast *Yâska*, who is ordinarily supposed to have lived in the fifth century before Christ, finds himself obliged to refute the opinion of teachers of much more ancient date than himself, who had pronounced the *Veda* to be a tissue of nonsense.³ This vulgar scepticism, which must not be confounded with the speculative negations of the *Sânkhya* and Buddhism, whose sneering attitude contrasts so forcibly with the timorous spirit of the modern Hindus, appears to have reckoned at one time a goodly number of adherents. The most ancient designation we find applied to them is that of *Nâstika* (a derivative of *na asti, non est*), "those who deny."⁴ They

¹ *Rig-Veda*, ii. 12, 5; viii. 100, 3, 4.

² *Taittir. Samh.*, vi. 1, 1, 1; *Kaṭha Up.*, i. 1, 20.

³ *Nirukta*, i. 15, 16.

⁴ Specifically, "who deny a fu-

ture life." Compare the eloquent passage directed against them, *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*, xvi. 6, *seq.*; and J. Muir's *Metrical Translations from Sanscrit Writers*, pp. 12-22, 1879.

appear to have formed associations, more or less avowed, under the title of *Cārvākas* (from the name of one of their teachers) and *Lokāyatas*, or “secularists.” Like other sects, they had their *Sûtras*, ascribed, doubtless in derision, to Brihaspati, the *guru* or preceptor of the gods. Their doctrine is represented as an absolute scepticism, and their morality, which has been preserved to us in certain *çlokas*, or couplets written with much *verve*, and ascribed to the same Brihaspati, is a simple call to enjoyment: “So long as life lasts, delight thyself and live well; when once the body is reduced to ashes, it will revive no more.”¹

¹ Sāyana has devoted to the *Cārvākas* the first chapter of his *Sarva-darçanasamgraha*; the greatest part of this chapter will be found, as translated by Cowell, in the new edition of the *Miscellaneous Essays* of Colebrooke, t. i. p. 456. The “false science of Brihaspati” is denounced, *Maitri Up.*, vii. 9. The

authors of the *Kāçikā Vṛitti*, who were probably Jainas, ascribe this ill-conceived system to the Buddhists. Max Müller, in the *Academy* for the 25th September 1880, p. 224. The Buddhists, on the other hand, father it upon the Brahmans. *Milinda-pañho*, p. 10.

B R A H M A N I S M.

III. DECLINE.

The Brahmans, custodiers of the Veda and tradition.—Formation of an orthodox Brahmanical literature, popularly accessible : Itihâsa, Purâna, Codes of Laws.—Monotheistic tendencies : Brahmâ.—From the time of Çaṅkara especially, Vedântism becomes more and more the sole orthodox exponent of speculative Brahmanism.—Modifications introduced into the ancient cultus : the doctrine of ahimsâ and the abolition of animal sacrifice.—Gradual decay of the ceremonial observances of the ancient ritual.—The Vedas ceased to be studied : revived study of them due to European scientific interest in them.

THE religion which we have just expounded is properly Brahmanism, the religion of the Brahmans. Very different from those which we have still to examine—some of which, Buddhism and Jainism, broke off from them at the first, while others, the different forms of Vishnuism and Çivaism, were adopted by them and flourished under their guidance, but never belonged to them to such an extent that they could not dispense with their service—the latter is very much their work and property. It would not have arisen without them, it could not subsist without them, and without them it would have disappeared, leaving us some defaced memorials perhaps, but certainly not a single authentic testimony ; and just this has been the secret of the vigour and continued existence of their caste, so feeble and worthless ■ an organisation, that it always retained the consciousness of its mission as the guardian of tradition. Notwithstanding the zeal with which they have thrown themselves into theosophy and the devo-

tional systems of the sects, notwithstanding the leading and divinely authoritative part, ■ it were, they have managed to play in connection with the new religions,¹ they have never ceased to watch over this ancient trust. It is probable that several centuries before our era many of them had adopted, alongside of their own peculiar doctrines, religious beliefs of different origin, and it will be our business, as we proceed, to notice particularly some of the religious forms due to these compromises. In their theoretical studies, however, which are conformable to their traditional customs and their ancient literature, they have on the whole remained faithful to the accepted theoretic of the past; and this not only among the Mīmāṃsists, who were tradition incarnate, but even among the Vedāntins, who had very many more points of affinity with all the innovations. It is the very same cultus at bottom that we find described successively in the Brâhmanas, the Sûtras, the Prayogas, and other treatises that are still more modern. The Smritis, although of different dates, contain for the most part nothing sectarian. When Patañjali, who is, however, the reputed author of the Yogasûtras, the most eccentric of the philosophical systems, ~~pleads in the~~ introduction to his Mahâbhâshya (in the second century before Christ) the claims of grammatical studies, he takes up exactly the same ground as the ancient Yâska, that, viz., of the Vedic exegesis.² Çaṅkara in the eighth century, Sâyaṇa in the fourteenth, were Vaishnavas, and even reputed to have been incarnations of Viṣṇu, though of this there is not much evidence when they comment, the one on the Vedântasûtras and the Upanishads, and the other on the whole of the great Vedic collections.³ In the

¹ With Çatap. Br., ii. 2, 2, 6, and Manu, xi. 84, compare such passages as Bhâgavata-Pur., iii. 16, 17. A modern verse of a proverbial cast says, "The entire world depends ■ the gods, the gods depend on the mantras, the mantras depend on the Brahmans; the Brahmans are my

gods." J. A. Dubois, *Mœurs des Peuples de l'Inde*, t. p. 186, and O. Böhtlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, No. 7552, t. iii. p. 607, 2d ed.

² Mahâbhâshya, i. 1, 1, pp. 1-5, ed. Kielhorn.

³ The commentary of Sâyaṇa on the Atharva-Veda, which, at one time

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philosophical treatises, a conspicuous element is polemic against the different doctrines of the sects, but it is one which is strictly scholastic. Even in the great reaction ■ the offensive against Buddhism, which was begun in the Dekhan in the seventh and eighth centuries by the schools of Kumârila and of Çaṅkara,¹ and in which sectarian passions played, in reality, a decisive part, there is nothing in the authentic documents anyhow that have been studied till now but what appears to be resolvable into simple metaphysical discussions. If we confined ourselves to this literature, we would say that Brahmanical India has never, outside of its Veda, recognised anything but some philosophical systems, and we could hardly realise the existence of those powerful religious movements which are revealed to us in the epic poetry, in profane literature, and in the immense mass of writings belonging to the sects. Never indifferent to the interests of the present, and with very

affirmed, at another denied to exist, had become more than suspected (Burnell, *Vaṃçabr.*, p. xxi. ; Haug in the *Zeitsch. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xviii. p. 304 ; Max Müller, in the Academy, 31st January 1874), has just been discovered. See the letters of Shankar Pandurang Pandit, Max Müller, and G. Bühler, in the Academy of the 5th and 12th June 1880. The Atharva-Veda, which is completely unknown to-day in the South, the native region of Sāyana, and which ■ early as the seventeenth century was considered lost (Burnell in the *Indian Antiq.*, viii. 99, and *Classified Index of the Tanjore MSS.*, i. 37), was certainly known favourably there before, since use is made of it in the *Apastamba Dharma-Sūtra*, which in all probability was composed in Southern India. G. Bühler, *Sacred Laws of the Aryas*, i. pp. xxv. and xxx. For information about Sāyana see Burnell, especially *Vaṃçabrāhmaṇa*, preface, p. v. seq. He was principal chief (jagad-

guru) of the Smārtas Brahmans, and died in 1386 at the monastery of Çriṅgeri in the Mysore. Burnell has advanced the hypothesis, by no means improbable, that Sāyana and Mādhaba, who are reputed to be brothers, and divide the honour of producing the majority of these commentaries, are in reality one and the ■ personage.

¹ For the age of Kumârila Bhaṭṭa, ■ Burnell, *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa*, introd., p. vi. Çaṅkara Acārya is generally placed in the eighth century ; perhaps we must accept the ninth rather. The best accredited tradition represents him as born on the 10th of the month of Mādhava (April-May) in 788 A.D. *Ind. Studien*, t. xiv. p. 353. Other traditions, ■ is true, place him in the second and the fifth centuries. *Ind. Antiq.*, i. 361, vii. 282. The author of the *Dabistân* (ii. 141), on the other hand, brings him as far down as the commencement of the fourteenth.

imperfect resources on the whole at their disposal, the Brahmans have thus, during ~~more~~ than twenty centuries, preserved their ancient heritage with a fidelity for which not only modern science, but India also, owes them no small gratitude. For if in the midst of this flood of dreamy speculations there has been anything vitally serviceable in the past history of this people, it is the continuity of the pure tradition of Brahmanism, in spite of its fondness for routine and its disregard of the lessons of experience, the exclusiveness of its creed, and its profound want of charity. No sectarian movement has on the whole produced anything of such solidity as the old Smṛitis, anything so independent and so purely intellectual as certain philosophic Sūtras. The *vaidika*, who knows by heart and teaches to his disciples one or several Vedas, which he still understands at least in part, is superior to the sectarian *guru*, with his unintelligible mantras, his amulets, and his diagrams; the *yājñika*, who possesses the complex science of ancient sacrifice, must be ranked above the illiterate attendant of a temple and an idol; and the *agnihotrin*, who, while diligent in his own business, keeps up his sacred fires, and, with his wife and children, conforms to the prescriptions of his hereditary ritual, is a more serviceable and moral being than the fakir and even the Buddhist monk.

We shall not attempt to trace Brahmanism in its decline through that long period during which it was only one of the phases of that many-shaped Proteus called Hinduism, and in the course of which it came to be so intimately mixed up with the sectarian religions that we can now only separate it from them by an act of abstraction. There are certain points, however, which it is important we should notice.

Almost all ancient religious literature was esoteric, or became so at length. The Veda was more or less so by right, since it could be transmitted only by oral

instruction, from which women and the menial class were strictly excluded,¹ and which in the end was addressed only to the Brahmans. The books connected with it were so in point of fact;² for they either presuppose ■ knowledge of the Veda, or else their form is such that only the initiated could understand them: no profane person would have been able to read a Sûtra, for example. The art of writing having become general, and regard being had, perhaps, to the practice common among the sects, attempts were made, without trespassing on the sacred domain of the Veda, to reproduce under a more accessible form such doctrines as were of more general interest than others. We think we must instance the majority of the Upanishads as the first attempt that was made in this direction, particularly the small ones, which are of a character specially adapted to the common intelligence. Other monuments of this literature have perished, or have only come down to us very materially altered, such as the old epic and legendary collections, the ancient Itihâsa and the ancient Purâṇa, so often referred to, and of which certain unsectarian portions of the Mahâbhârata may give, perhaps, some idea. At a later period the numerous *Dharmaçâstras*, or codes of laws, such as those of Manu, of Yâjñavalkya, and others,³ were drawn up

¹ The Upanayana, the presentation of the pupil to the master, is confined by the whole Smṛiti to the male children of the dvijas, i.e., of the members of the three superior castes, which have not by their negligence forfeited their right to initiation. The Çûdra is expressly excluded (Apastamba Dh. S., i. 1, 5). In this respect, there ■ be no doubt, it would be more interesting to know to what extent the non-Brahmans availed themselves of their right. But the Smṛiti does not concern itself much with any except the Brahmans, and what it says of the other castes is almost always to be distrusted. In all probability the communication of

the Veda resolved itself for them, and even many of the Brahmans, into ■ simple formality.

² They themselves besides openly profess to give ■ esoteric doctrine. See Nirukta, ii. 3, 4 (a passage which we find again in Manu, ii. 114, 115, 144, and Samhitopanishad, 62, iii.) ■ Manu, i. 103; ii. 16; xii. 117.

³ For different lists of the *Dharmaçâstras* see Stenzler, *Zur Literatur der Indischen Gesetzbücher*, in the *Ind. Studien*, t. i. p. 232. There ■ published up to the present time in critical editions and easily accessible: Manu, or Mânava-Dharmaçâstra, which has been published a great many times (among others

with this very object. These are compilations comparatively modern, very few of which date before our era, and some of which are much more recent, though all are very old in respect of the foundation they rest on. In this way there arose a purely Brahmanical literature, without any sectarian admixture, accessible to everybody, and kept alive uninterruptedly to our day; and as this literature was produced at times in the names of the most revered among the ancient sages, some of its productions were not long in eclipsing the scholastic originals. The code of Manu, for instance, ascribed to the mythical ancestor and legislator of the human race, ranked at the head of the Smritis, and immediately next to the Veda.

It is in these books that the most decided stress is laid on the rôle of Brahmâ (mas.), the creator, the father of gods and men, a figure majestic indeed, but somewhat pallid, ■ all the products of speculation are, and ill qualified to dispute the supremacy with his formidable rivals that had their origin in the popular beliefs. Unknown to the ancient cultus—although his prototype, Prajâpati, filled ■ pretty large space in it—he does not appear to have occupied more space in the new systems of worship; and many sanctuaries as there are in India, we know of only one of

by Gr. Ch. Haughton, 1825, and A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, 1830-33), and reproduced in many languages, since the celebrated translation by Sir William Jones, 1794. Yājñavalkya, text and translation into German by A. F. Stenzler, 1849. The Mitāksharā, a treatise on jurisprudence, composed at the end of the eleventh century, and several times edited in India, is based on the code of Yājñavalkya. Nārada, an English translation by J. Jolly, 1876: the text has not appeared. A collection of twenty-six of these texts has been reprinted by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, under the title of Dharmacāstraśaṅgraha, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1876. To these pub-

lications may be added the compendiums or digests compiled by the Pandits: The Code of Gentoo Law, 1776 (compiled by order of Warren Hastings, and translated into English by Halhed, has been translated into French and German); and the Digest of Hindū Law on Contracts and Successions by Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana (translated by Colebrooke, 1798, reprinted in 1801 and in 1864). Of ■ character somewhat different, although from the same source, is the new Digest of Bombay, drawn up according to the decisions of Cāstrins, or native jurists attached to the law courts of the Presidency, by R. West and G. Bühler, 1867.

these, that of Pushkara, near Ajmeer, in Râjastan, which is exclusively dedicated to him.¹ It is likewise in these books that the theory of the four ages of the world (*yuga*), and of the gradual triumph of evil, ■ well as that of the successive creations and destructions of the universe, following each other in the lapse of immense periods, is expounded for the first time in any exact manner.² The doctrines which refer to the life beyond the grave, especially those which refer to hell, or rather purgatory (for there are no eternal torments), assume their final form. Besides, no effort is made to raise again the old deities after the many blows dealt at them in succession by ritualism, theosophy, and sectarian devotionism. Indra and his peers are the gods of the cultus; outside of that they are very subordinate powers; who watch like guardians over the different regions of the world (*lokapāla*), and to whom man may, by science and penance, become the equal, if not the superior.³

■ The worship of Brahmā is, however, minutely described in the Bhavishya-Purāṇa, Aufrecht, Oxford Catalogue, pp. 30, 31.

■ See R. Roth, *Der Mythos von den fünf Menschengeschlechtern bei Hesiod und die Indische Lehre von den vier Weltaltern*, 1860. This pessimist theory is expressed by the allegory of the Cow of Dharma, which stands over four feet in the first age, over three in the second, over two in the third, and over one in the present age. The developed theory of the four ages contains numerical data which refer to astronomy, either Chaldean or Greek. See Biot, *Études ■ l'Astronomie Indienne et Chinoise*, p. 30 seq.

■ Just as the ancient gods retain their rank in the ritual portion of these books, so they also preserve ■ often in the legends of the epic poetry, of the Purāṇas, identically those ones, too, whose sectarian character is most pronounced. See on this subject the interesting monographs of A. Holtzmann: *Agni nach den Vorstellungen des Mahābhārata*, 1878; *Indra nach den Vorstellungen*

des Mahābhārata, in the *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesell.*, xxxii. p. 290; *Die Apsaras nach dem Mahābhārata*, *ibid.*, xxxiii. p. 631; *Arjuna, ein Beitrag zur Reconstruction des Mahābhārata*, 1879. But in all these writings the devas, so to speak, disappear ■ soon as the question becomes one of speculation or the cosmogony. According to Manu they ■ into existence along with men and inferior beings, although after the production of the elementary principles and the demiurgic powers, the Manus and the Prajāpatis, personages who, taken separately, belong nearly all to the ancient literature (being for the most part Vedic rishis), but who are new in this character, and so grouped in classes, *Manu*, i. 5-8. This cosmogonic mythology occurs again in the epic and all the Purāṇas, with an endless number of variations in detail, but such ■ do not affect the system, which remains the same at bottom. The principal difference is that in the Purāṇas it is subordinated to the great sectarian divinities, and, above all, enlarged to a prodigious

Through their eclectic and monotheistic tendency, these books contributed to the formation of ■ certain orthodoxy in the bosom of Brahmanism. On the one hand, the Veda was accepted more than ever ■ an absolute authority,¹ which was the less to be challenged in theory that it was so slightly troublesome in practice; on the other hand, the recognition of a personal god and a divine providence, with which the Brâhmanas and the Upanishads at times dispense so easily, became by degrees a settled dogma. Under whatever name he might be worshipped, and whatever metaphysical explanation might be given of his nature, it was necessary to confess an *Içvara*, a Lord, and humble one's self before him. The Sâṅkhya, which denied this notion, was pronounced guilty of impiety. The Mīmāṃsâ, which ignored it, was also looked upon with suspicion,² in spite of its severe traditionalism; and it was obliged to introduce it at the beginning of its creed. The Vedânta alone, by that prescriptive right which the idealistic systems have always enjoyed, of reconciling a particular system of devotion with a metaphysical system which seems to require its exclusion, evaded at times the necessity of recognising in terms a god who was self-conscious and distinct from the world. In the *Atma-*

extent ■ respects at once amount of detail and exaggeration. Thus, with reference to the Manvantaras or the reign of ■ Manu, ■ everything changes from one of these periods to another, things, men, and gods, it becomes an amusement to draw up an inventory of each, not only such ■ are considered to have passed, but even those which are still to come. See, for instance, the first chapters of book viii. of the Bhâgavata P., and book iii. of the Vishnu Purâṇa.

¹ It is not till this period of decline that there appears to have been any thought of subjecting the whole of the Vedic literature, the Çruti, and everything connected with it, to ■ definitive classification, and to draw up in systematic form the subject-

matter. This is attempted in the Prasthâbhedâ of Madhusûdana Sarasvatî, and the Caranavyûha, ■ of the pariçishtas or supplements to the White Yajus, published in succession by Professor Weber in the Indische Studien, vols. i., ii. Yet, notwithstanding these attempts, this literature has never been formed into ■ canon, in the strict sense of the word, such as that of the Buddhists ■ Jainas, the different families of Brahmins having by preference always adhered each to their hereditary Veda.

■ By Varâha Mihira (sixth century) the Mīmāṃsists ■ likened to the Buddhists, Ind. Studien, xiv. p. 353.

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III.

B U D D H I S M.

Buddhism the most direct and deliberate repudiation of Brahmanism ; in what sense it is also the most ancient.—Literature of Buddhism : the Tripitaka.—Buddha, his life and death : date of the Nirvāṇa.—Difficulty in defining the Master's — personal teaching.—Anti-theological and little given to speculation, primitive Buddhism atheistic and occupied exclusively with the problem of salvation.—Its Four Noble verities.—The Nidānas or conditions of existence.—Existence, as it is essentially perishable ; the skandhas, the karman, and the new births.—Nirvāṇa, absolute annihilation.—Negations of Buddhism : issue in nihilism in the school of Nāgārjuna.—Affinities with the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta.—The rapid advance of Buddhism and the causes in explanation : the personality and the legend of Buddha.—Spirit of charity and propagandism.—Preaching of and training in its principles, and direction of the conscience.—Formation of a Buddhist mythology : the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.—Organisation of Buddhism.—Institution of monasticism and a clergy : the Saṅgha.—Buddhism and caste.—Wealth of the religious order and magnificence of the cultus.—Political circumstances favourable to Buddhism : establishment of the great monarchies.—Aśoka and the Buddhist missions.—Domination abroad : cosmopolitan spirit of Buddhism.—Decay and total extinction of Buddhism in India.—Has it been unable to withstand persecution ?—Fanaticism in India.—Kumārila and Čaṅkara.—The real causes of the downfall of Buddhism its internal vices, which have disabled it from competing with the sectarian religions.

As we pass to the younger religions which have developed in the train of Brahmanism, the first of these which presents itself to us is Buddhism, not because it has been proved to be the most ancient, but because it attained a separate independent existence before any other, and is in a way a direct offshoot from the old stock, while its rivals have rather been engrafted into it like parasitic plants. Buddhism presents, in fact, ■ twofold aspect. On the one hand, it is a Hindu phenomenon, a natural product, so to speak, of the age and social circle that witnessed

its birth. When we attempt to reconstruct its primitive doctrine and early history, we come upon something so akin to what we meet in the most ancient Upanishads and in the legends of Brahmanism, that it is not always easy to determine what features belong peculiarly to it. On the other hand, it asserts itself from the first as an independent religion, in which a new spirit breathes, and on which the mighty personality of its founder has left an indelible impress. In this sense, Buddhism is the work of Buddha, just as Christianity is the work of Jesus, and Islam that of Mahomet. From the date of the death of the Master, we feel ourselves face to face with a body of doctrines, and an institution with a life of their own, and the history of which is connected with that of the contemporary religions only in an indirect and quite external way. This history we shall not attempt to relate here, neither shall we venture to sketch in a general outline the immense development of the dogmas, the institutions, and destinies of this system. We shall hardly be able to touch on the questions which arise in connection with the sources of this history of Buddhism, the various related traditions, so widely different from one another, the duplicate form in which its sacred literature appears, preserved at first in Sanskrit in the North, and in Pâli in the South, and more or less faithfully reproduced at a later period in the majority of the languages of High and Eastern Asia.¹ We shall have no occasion to refer,

¹ The collection of the sacred books of Buddhism bears the name of Tripitaka (in Pâli, Tipitaka), "the three baskets,"* since it is formed of three minor collections: that of the Vinaya, or the discipline, which especially respects the clergy; that of the Sûtras, or sermons of Buddha, containing the general exposition of doctrine; and that of the Abhidharma, or the metaphysics of the system. This division is traditional rather than logical, and the definitions are exact only in a quite general way. For other divisions see Burnouf, *Introd. à l'Hist. du Bouddh. Ind.*, p. 48, and the communications of R. Morris and Max Müller in the Academy of the 21st and 28th August 1880, pp. 136 and 154. These writings have been preserved in two comparatively original

* An expression which seems to presuppose the existence of written texts, but which, according to V. Trenckner, *Pâli Miscellany*, part i. p. 67, would, on the contrary, harmonise very well with the Buddhist tradition of a long purely oral transmission of the canon.

except in passing, to the biography of its founder, its different metaphysical systems, its morals, its ecclesiastical

redactions, but neither of them in the Māgadhī dialect, the primitive language of the Church. One of them is in Pāli, and passes current in Ceylon and India beyond the Ganges; the other is in Sanskrit, and was discovered some fifty years ago in Nepāl by B. H. Hodgson. The comparative study of these two redactions has made little progress ■ yet, and the question of their relative age and authority is far from being decided. In general, the probabilities are in favour of the Pāli redaction, which anyhow has the advantage of having been fixed ever since the fifth century by the commentaries of Buddhaghosha, and which appears to have better preserved the distinction between the ancient writings and the more recent productions; but in opposition to the often sweeping assertions of Pāli scholars (see, e.g., Childers's Dictionary of the Pāli Language, p. xi.), respect should be had to the objections and judicious reservations formulated by E. Senart (Notes sur quelques Termes Buddhiques, in the Journ. Asiat., 1876, viii. p. 477 seq.), as well as to the elements of ancient popular poetry, pointed out by the same scholar (Essai sur la Légende du Buddha, ib., 1874, iii. pp. 363, 409 seq.), and by H. Kern (Über de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten, p. 23 seq.), in the Gāthās of the developed Sūtras of the North; that is to say, in what, since Burnouf, has come to be regarded as the most modern portion of the Sanskrit collection and the canonical literature in general. Both redactions have been translated into ■ certain number of foreign languages, and by these, according as they have adopted the one or the other, and regard the Sanskrit or the Pāli as the sacred language, the Buddhist population is distinguished into Buddhists of the North and Buddhists of the South. To the Buddhism of the South belong Ceylon, Burmah, Pegu, Siam; while Nepāl, Tibet,

China, Japan, Annam, Cambodja, Java, and Sumatra are or were connected with the Buddhism of the North. Analyses of this literature will be found, for the Pāli Tipitaka, in Spence Hardy's Eastern Monachism, p. 166 seq.; in the Pāli Dictionary by Childers, p. 506, and in Rhys Davids' Buddhism, p. 18 seq.; for the Nepāl collection, in the Memoirs of B. H. Hodgson (Asiatic Researches, xvi., Trans. of the Roy. As. Soc., ii., Journ. of the As. Soc. of Bengal, v. and vi., reprinted in the collection of his Essays, 1874, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 8); and especially in Burnouf's Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, which is entirely devoted to the collection of Nepāl. Consult also E. B. Cowell and T. Egge-ling, Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Possession of the Royal Asiatic Society (Hodgson Collection), in the Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc., new series, viii. For the Tibetan collection, see the Analyses of Csoma of Körös in the Journ. of the As. Soc. of Bengal, i., and the Asiatic Researches, xx.; for the Chinese collection, see S. Beal's The Buddhist Tripitaka as it is known in China and Japan, a catalogue and compendious report published for the India Office, 1876. The information collected by W. Wassiljew, Der Buddhismus (see in particular, p. 87 seq. and 157 seq.), refers at once to the Tibetan and the Chinese collections.

Of the Abhidharma we possess up to the present time only extracts and fragments. For the Sūtras, which ■ better known, see *infra*. It is only the Vinaya that it has till now been proposed to publish entirely, the first volume of which, a third of the whole, has just appeared, with ■ scholarly preface. H. Oldenberg, The Vinaya Pitakam, one of the Principal Buddhist Holy Scriptures, in the Pāli Language, vol. i., The Mahāvagga, 1879. The second volume has since appeared, containing the Cullavagga, 1880.

organisation, its discipline and cultus, its mythology and sacred writings, its schools, its heresies, and its councils, and its probable or possible influence upon other beliefs, such as Manicheism and different sects of Christianity. In a word, we shall touch on its doctrine and its history only in so far as we shall find it necessary to explain its fortune and to indicate the place which belongs to it in the religious development of India.¹

¹ General works on Buddhism :— Contemporary with the works of Abel Remusat and J. J. Schmidt on the religions and literatures of High and Eastern Asia, and those of Csoma de Körös on Tibetan Buddhism (*Journ. of the As. Soc. of Bengal*, i.; *Asiatic Researches*, xx.), the direct study of Indian Buddhism commences with the discovery and examination of the Buddhist books of Nepal by B. H. Hodgson, 1828-1837. His *Memoirs*, reprinted in 1874, "Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet," were followed closely by the works of G. Turnour on the Pāli literature and the Singhalese chronicles: *The Mahāvamsa*, with Translation, and an Introductory Essay on Pāli Buddhistical Literature, vol. i., 1837; and *Journ. of the As. Soc. of Bengal*, vii., 1838. The first work, which contains the ancient part, the thirty-three first chapters of the *Mahāvamsa*, or the "Great Chronicle" of Ceylon, has not been continued, but a redaction, a little earlier, of the same materials, the *Dipavamsa*, "The Chronicle of the Isle," has just been published, text and English translation, by H. Oldenberg: *The Dipavamsa, an Ancient Buddhist Historical Record*, 1879. These two works, which record the origin of Buddhism and the Singhalese Annals to the end of the third century A.D., were probably compiled about the fourth or fifth century, from documents preserved in the monasteries of Ceylon, the most ancient books of history which India has left to us. In 1844 E.

Burnouf introduced a new era in regard to these studies by the publication of his *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien* (reprinted in 1876), followed in 1852 by *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, traduit du Sanscrit et accompagné de vingt et un Mémoires relatifs au Bouddhisme. Then there come in order of date, R. Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism, an Account of the Origin, Laws, Discipline, and Sacred Writings . . . of the Order of Mendicants founded by Gotama Buddha*, compiled from Singhalese MSS., 1853, reprinted 1860. By the same, *A Manual of Buddhism in its Modern Development*, translated from Singhalese MSS., 1853, reprinted 1860, and again in 1880. C. F. Köppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, 2 vols., 1857-1859. W. Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus, seine Dogmen, Geschichte und Literatur*, first part (all that has appeared), translated from the Russian, 1860; a French translation by La Comme, 1865; very important for Indian Buddhism, though drawn exclusively from Tibetan and Chinese sources. A. Schiefner, *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt*, 1869: the author wrote at the beginning of the seventeenth century. To these works must be added R. C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, 1875, some articles of which are genuine monographs, and which furnishes on a great number of points valuable information borrowed from works often hardly accessible. Among popular works it is proper to cite in the first rank J.

We have only legendary data, deeply infected with mythical elements, in regard to the life of the remarkable man who, towards the close of the sixth century before our era, laid the foundations of a religious system which, under a form more or less altered, constitutes, even in our own day, the faith of more than a third of the inhabitants of the globe.¹ He belonged to the family of the Gautamas, who were, it is said, the line royal of the Çâkyas, a Rajpoot clan, which was settled at the time on the banks of the Rohinî, a small affluent of the Gogra, about 137 miles to the north of Benares. When twenty-nine years of age, he quitted his parents, his young wife, and an only son, who had just been born to him, and became a sannyâsin. After seven years of meditation and internal struggles, he announced himself as in possession of the perfect truth, and assumed the title of Buddha, the awakened, the enlightened. During forty-four years more, he preached his doctrine on both banks of the Ganges, in the province of Benares and in Behar, and entered Nirvâna at the advanced age of eighty.² The date of his death, which is differently

Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, *Le Bouddha et sa Religion*, 2d ed., 1862, and especially a recent little work (date not given, but which must be 1877) by T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism, being a Sketch of the Life and Teachings of Gautama, the Buddha*, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. We can only in a very general way refer here to the many labours of J. d'Alwis, S. Beal, L. Feer, Ph. E. Foucaux, D. J. Gogerly, Max Müller, A. Schiefner, E. Schlagintweit, A. Weber, H. H. Wilson. In fine, Ch. Lassen, last not least, has also done much to promote these studies in his great work, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, 1847-74.

¹ The most recent statistics give 470,000,000 as the total number of the Buddhist population. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 5.

² The biography of Buddha :—Ph. E. Foucaux, *Rgya-Tcher-Rol-Pa*,

ou Développement des Jeux ; Histoire du Bouddha Sakya-Mouni, publié et traduit du Tibétain, 1847-1860, 2 vols. 4to. It is the Tibetan version of the following :—The *Lalitavistara*, or *Memoirs of the Early Life of Çakya Sinha*, edited by Rajendralâla Mitra, Calcutta, 1853-77 (*Biblioth. Indica*). This text, the only one of the Sanskrit books of Nepâl edited as yet (we have only a translation of the *Lotus of the Good Law*), carries on the life of Buddha as far as the commencement of his apostleship. Another of these texts, devoted also to the legend of Buddha, the *Mahāvastu*, will be shortly published by E. Senart. S. Beal, *The Romantic Legend of Sâkyâ-Buddha*, from the Chinese, 1875, translated from the Chinese version of the *Abhinishkramanasûtra*, or a narrative of the call and retreat of Buddha. A. Schief-

reported in the different traditions of Buddhism, and by all inaccurately, has been determined with a probability, in our opinion, little short of certainty, only in recent times, through the discovery of three new inscriptions of the Emperor Açoka.¹ From these texts it follows that the thirty-seventh year of the reign of this prince was reckoned as the 257th from the decease of the Master, and this in Maghada, the native country of Buddhism. When adjusted to our chronology, this date makes the Nirvâna take place on one of the years which fall between 482 and 472 before Christ.² It is the first date that we meet with

ner, *Eine Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Çakyammis*, 1849. The original was written in 1734. All these works belong to Northern Buddhism. The following are drawn from Southern sources:—R. C. Childers, *The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, Pāli text and commentary, in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, vols. vii. and viii., new series. It contains the narrative of the last days and death of Buddha; the translation, interrupted by the author's death, did not appear. V. Fausbøll, *The Jātaka*, together with its Commentary, vol. i., 1877. The introduction of the commentary contains a detailed biography of Buddha, omitting the closing years. P. Bigandet, vicar apostolic of Ava and Pegu, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama Buddha of the Burmese*, Rangoon, 1858, 2d edition, 1866; 3d edition is in preparation; a French translation by V. Gauvain, 1878. H. Alabaster, *The Wheel of the Law*, 1872, from Siamese sources. In fine, we could not refer to the life of Buddha without mentioning the beautiful work of E. Senart, *Essai sur la Légende du Buddha, son Caractère et ses Origines*, 1875 (which appeared in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1873–75). A new edition is in preparation. We venture to think that the author goes a little too far in the way of mythic explanation; but, after this book, it can be no longer any idea of writing the life of Buddha, as it is given, for

instance, in the work of Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, cited above.

¹ These celebrated inscriptions, engraven on rocks and pillars in different places of Northern India, from the valley of Cabul as far as the peninsula of Gujarāt, and from the frontiers of Nepāl to the mouth of the Mahānadi in Orissa, contain, in the form of edicts or proclamations, religious and moral directions addressed by the Emperor Açoka to his subjects. Deciphered successively by J. Prinsep, Norris, and Dowson, and elucidated by the works of Burnouf, Lassen, Wilson, Kern, and Bühler, they have been collected and published anew by General A. Cunningham in his "*Corpus Inscriptionum*," and they are at this very moment being subjected to thorough re-examination by E. Senart in the *Journal Asiatique*, 7th series, vol. xv. 287, 479; xvi. 215. These are the most ancient epigraphic texts of India. From their mentioning the names of Greek princes contemporary with Açoka, they with absolute certainty confirm the identity of Candragupta, the grandfather of this prince, and the Sandrocottus of the classic historians, an identity which constitutes the fundamental assumption connected with the ancient chronology of India.

² The question of the date of Nirvâna has been principally treated by Ch. Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.*, ii. p. 53, 2d ed.; A. Cunningham, *Bhilsa*

in the history of India, and, if we except those which depend on it, the ten centuries which are to follow do not supply altogether half a dozen more.

The doctrines of Buddha are better known to us than the details of his life, but they are far from being so in any exact manner. In the documents in which there is, on the whole, still the most chance of finding the echo of his word, in the Pâli *Suttas*, these memorials, judging from what has been published of them till now,¹ are so seriously altered by the lucubrations of an age of formalism and scholasticism (the language of these documents, the Pâli, being more recent than the dialects in which the inscriptions of Açoka were drawn up towards the end of the

Topes, p. 74, 1852; Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal, 1854, p. 704; and Corpus Inscript. Indic., p. iii. *seq.*; Max Müller, Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 263; N. L. Westergaard, Ueber Buddha's Todesjahr, German translation, 1862; H. Kern, Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten, 1873. T. W. Rhys Davids, On the Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon, 1877, p. 38 *seq.*, in the new edition of Marsden's Numismata Orientalia. It has been, if not decided, at all events brought nearer a final solution, by the discovery, due to General A. Cunningham, of the new inscriptions. G. Bühler, Three New Edicts of Açoka, in the Ind. Antiq., vi. 149, and vii. 141; and A. Cunningham, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. i. pp. 20-23, pl. xiv.

The masterly discussion to which these texts have been subjected by Bühler has certainly not availed to do away with all uncertainty. We have ourselves taken certain exceptions in our criticism in the Revue Critique of the 1st June 1878; others have been taken by Senart, Journal Asiatique, May-June 1879, p. 524. But in spite of its absolute rejection by Pischel, Academy, 11th August 1877, and by Rhys Davids, Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon, p. 57

seq., and the objection, which is a very grave one indeed, started by H. Oldenberg, The Vinaya Piṭakam, i. p. xxxviii., we think that the conclusions of Bühler hold good, that these inscriptions emanate from King Açoka, that they reckon from the ■ of the Nirvâna, and they give for the death of Buddha the date which was accepted in the third century B.C. in Magadha.

¹ Fr. Spiegel, Anecdota Pâlica, 1845; L. Feer, Etudes Bouddhiques, in the Journal Asiatique, 1866-78; R. C. Childers, The Kuddakapāṭha, Pâli text with translation, in the Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc., vol. iv., new series; The Mahâparinibbânasutta, *ibid.*, vols. vii. and viii., by the same author; P. Grimblot, Sept Suttas Pâlis tirés du Digha-Nikâya, 1876; Coomara Svamy, Sutta Nipâta, or the Dialogues of Gotama Buddha, translated, 1874; R. Pischel, The Assa-lâyanasuttam, edited and translated, 1880. E. Burnouf has translated several Pâli Suttas in the Lotus de la Bonne Loi. Of the works of Gogerly, now so very scarce, on this part of the Buddhist writings, some have passed into the posthumous work of Grimblot. For the Dhammapada and the Jâtaka, see *infra*. A considerable number of Sûtras have been, moreover, published or

third century before Christ), that, as regards the form at least, the instructions of the Master may be considered ■ lost.¹ There are sparks in this monkish literature, but never flame; and it is certain that it was not by strange

translated from the books of the North by E. Burnouf (in the Introduction à l'Histoire du B. I.), S. Beal, A. Schiefner, L. Feer, &c. To these publications have recently been added: Max Müller, On Sanskrit Texts Discovered in Japan, and Cecil Bendall, The Megha Sûtra, in Journal of the Roy. As. Soc., new series, xii. p. 153 and 286 (1880). Of the great Sûtras peculiar to this literature, we possess the Lalitavistara in Sanskrit (ed. Rājendralāla Mitra), in Tibetan, and in French (ed. Foucaux), and the Lotus de la Bonne Loi in French (translated by Burnouf). An edition of the Mahāvastu by Senart is in the press.

¹ For the age and origin of the Pāli, ■ much controverted, ■ Westergaard, Ueber den ältesten Zeitraum der Indischen Geschichte, p. 87, who derives it in the third century before Christ from the dialect of Ujjayini; Kern, Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten, p. 13 seq., who considers it an artificial language akin to the Çauraseni of the dramas, and elaborated about the beginning of the Christian era; Oldenberg, The Vinaya Piṭakam, vol. i. p. xlix. seq., who, ■ the other hand, thinks he finds in it a dialect of the Eastern Dekhan. There has been no less discussion respecting the origin and growth of the Buddhist canon. The authorities of the North and the South agree in referring the redaction, or at least the composition (for certain testimonies make mention of a pretty prolonged oral transmission), to a first council which must have met at Rājagriha immediately after the death of the Master. This redaction, according to the authorities of the South, must have been revised and restored to its original purity

by the doctors of the second council, which the tradition of the North ignores, held at Vaiçālī a hundred years after Nirvāṇa, under the first Aśoka or Kālāśoka. Finally, a last revision, with some additions to boot, such as the Kathāvattu (Dīpavamsa, vii. 56), must have been made 118 years later by the third council, held at Pāṭaliputra under the great Aśoka, or Dharmāśoka Priyadarśin. The tradition of the North, on the other hand, ascribes the third redaction to a council held at Kashmir under the Turanian king Kanishka towards the beginning of the Christian era. These facts have been differently interpreted by criticism. Lassen admits that we possess documents contemporary with the first council, but that the Sanskrit canon was finally fixed only by the Kashmir council (Ind. Alterth., ii. 86 and 856 seq., 2d ed.), which is also Burnouf's opinion (Introd. à l'Hist. du Bouddh. Ind., p. 579). Perhaps ■ complete examination of the Chinese collection may enable us to come to a closer agreement on the matter. Senart thinks that the council of Pāṭaliputra was the first to attempt to fix the dogma and the canon (l'Essai sur la Légende du Buddha, p. 514 seq.). Kern is of opinion that we must rest satisfied with affirming that the Pāli canon, pretty much as we have it, must have been in existence in Ceylon some time before the redaction of the commentaries of Buddhaghosha in the fifth century (Over d. Jaartelling, p. 25). The most recent attempt at solution, and the ■ which at the same time aims at the greatest precision, is that of Oldenberg. During the first century, he thinks, Buddhism had only two sorts of writings, Vinaya and Dharma, discipline and doctrine; the redaction of the greater part of

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country by invasion, were able, towards the beginning of our era, to unite together all the countries on the north of the Vindhya. From this long thralldom the religion of Çâkyamuni was still the only one to reap benefit. Brahmanism was hostile, and held no parley with the stranger;¹ the popular religions, although less exclusive, were also intensely Hindu; Buddhism alone was cosmopolitan. The literature of the Cingalese has preserved for us a curious work, in which the Greek king Menander is represented as a zealous convert,² and the reign of the Turanian emperors, especially that of Kanishka, coincides perhaps with the period when the fortune of Buddhism in Hindustan was at its height. On the one hand, it must have met with a ready welcome from the uncivilised hordes that issued from the North in the train of the conquerors, and who settled in great numbers in the countries to the west of the Ganges. On the other hand, as the authority of these princes extended over both slopes of the mountains, this opened up for it roads into the North, into Afghanistan, Bactriana, China, and Thibet, just as the piety and policy of Açoka had opened up for it those into the South.

We do not know to what extent the reaction which led to the restoration of independence was directly injurious to it. The national dynasties, so far as appears by inscriptions, were much more Vishnuite or Çivaite than Buddhist; but Buddhism was fairly treated by them, and shared in their acts of liberality. It is clear, however, that its

¹ Alexander was obliged to treat the Brahmans with severity, because they drove the people to resistance and revolt. Plutarch, Alexander, ch. lix., lxiv. A vague acquaintance with these facts occurs again even in Shahrastâni's (twelfth century) *Religionspartheien und Philosophenschulen*, translated by Haarbriicker, ii. 374.

² The *Milinda Pañha*, "The Questions of Milinda." Spence Hardy has given numerous extracts from

them in his "Eastern Monachism" and his "Manual of Buddhism." It is now edited: *The Milindapañho*, being Dialogues between King Milinda and the Buddhist Sage Nâgavenna. The Pâli text, edited by V. Trenckner. What Plutarch says, *De Gerendæ Reipub. Præcept* (ch. xxviii.), of the way in which the different towns disputed for the remains of the body of Menander seems also to testify in favour of the Buddhism of that prince.

best days are now past. It has no longer to do with the ancient Brahmanism, but with rivals that were formidable in a very different way—the religions of Çiva and Vishnu—and in this new struggle the advantages are on the side of the adversary. At the beginning of the fifth century, indeed, the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian found it still flourishing in the different parts of India. In the seventh, on the other hand, it appears in the accounts of Hiouen-Thsang in a state of decay. In the eleventh, it has still footing in some of its great sanctuaries in the provinces of the West;¹ in those of Magadha, at Gayâ, the land of its birth, we meet with traces of it even as late as the fourteenth;² and Buddhist dynasties appear to have subsisted in Behâr and towards the mouths of the Godâvarî until the end of the twelfth century.³ Then we hear no more of it. The Brahmans continue still to argue a good deal against the Bauddhas; and Sâyaṇa in the fourteenth century still assigns to them the second place in his “General Review of the Systems.” But it is difficult to say whether these arguments are addressed to real opponents, or whether they are not rather mere scholastic exercises.⁴ Confined to the island of Ceylon, the valleys of Nepâl, and the districts which border on Burmah, Buddhism in

¹ Even the characters imprinted on the Buddhist clay seats found in great quantities in the grottoes of Kaṇheri, near Bombay, do not appear to date beyond the thirteenth century. *Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc., Bombay*, 1861, pl. vii. Albirouni in the eleventh century, in Reinaud’s *Mémoire sur l’Inde*, p. 89, and Shahrastani in the twelfth century, translated by Haarbrücker, t. ii. p. 358, speak of the Buddhists still existing in India.

² Inscription of Gayâ in A. Cunningham’s *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. iii. pl. xxxv., and *Corpus Inscript. Indicarum*, p. v. These places, besides, continued to be an object of pilgrimage for Buddhists from abroad; see the Burmese inscription of the fourteenth cen-

tury, *Archæological Survey*, vol. i. p. 8.

³ A. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey*, vol. iii. pp. 119, 121; P. Goldschmidt, in the *Ind. Antiq.*, vi. 328.

⁴ When Abul Fazl visited Kashmir (in the end of the sixteenth century), there were still some old men there who professed Buddhism, but he confesses he did not once fall in with a teacher of that religion; and yet the court of Akbar was a place of resort for learned men belonging to all the different schools of religious belief. He does not appear to know at what period the Buddhists had disappeared from India, and merely says “it was a long while ago.” Ayeen Akbari, translated by Fr. Gladwin, Calcutta, 1786, t. iii. p. 158.

our days has completely disappeared from India proper. Its only memorials are the innumerable ruins which it has left behind over the whole surface of the peninsula, perhaps also a few groups of sects, viz., Vishnuites such as the Vaishnavavīras of the Dekhan, and Īvaītes like the Kānpḥātas of Hindustan, who have long abjured or forgotten their origin, but who still keep Buddhist saints in their calendar.

How are we to account for this total extinction of Buddhism in the country that witnessed its birth, and in which it flourished so long? Although it is in general more difficult to account for the decay of religions than their rise and growth, the disappearance of this one appears to have been so rapid, and is, in fact, so complete, that nothing, one would think, should be easier than to determine the causes of it. Such, however, is the obscurity which still veils many phases of the past history of India, that we can on this matter form only conjectures, and of only a quite general character too. The cause, persecution viz., to which we are apt to assign the first place, is exactly the one which, in the existing state of our knowledge, appears the least probable. No evidence of any serious weight has as yet been adduced to prove that Buddhism has ever been, either before its triumph or in the days of its decline, the object of rigorous measures directed against it with any unanimity of purpose and on any considerable scale. On the contrary, the most reliable documents, the coins and inscriptions, bear evidence of ■ toleration exceptionally generous on the part of the civil powers.¹ Not only do the princes of the same dynasty profess the most diverse religious creeds, but the same

¹ The coins of the Turanian princes of the first century are Īvaīte and Buddhist ones; their inscriptions ■ Buddhist ones, and perhaps also Jainist. The Andhrabhṛitya kings, who, if we may judge from their names, were supporters of the ancient cultus, appear in their inscriptions at Nānāghāt, Nāsik, and

Ajanṭā, at once as practising the rites of Brahmanism and as patronising the Buddhists with gifts. Among the Guptas, Candragupta is ■ Brahmanist, like the other princes of the dynasty on the pillars of Behār and Bhītari, and ■ protector of Buddhism and the Buddhists in the inscriptions of Sañci. The king

prince often distributes his bounties among several sects ; and we might give a pretty long list of kings who, though they did not embrace Buddhism, were among its benefactors. Several of the monarchs, for instance, whom Hiouen-Thsang speaks of as professed patrons of the Church, appear to have been in reality adherents of one or other of the neo-Brahmanic religions. At a later date, even at the time when absurd legends represent Çaṅkara as exterminating the Buddhists from the Himâlaya to Cape Comorin, we read of Vishnuite princes who belonged to Vishnuite dynasties making donations to a sister religion of Buddhism, that of the Jainas, whom the Brahmans detested quite as much ;¹ and these testimonies are not contradicted by the contemporary literary documents.² Not that India has been innocent of religious fanaticism. On the contrary, she was early familiar with it, and, under the form of exclusivism, practised the most

of Valabhi were Çivaïtes and Vishnuïtes, and we see them for nearly a century making donations to a Buddhist monastery founded by a princess of their family. Inscript. in the Ind. Antiq., iv. 105, 175 ; vi. 15 ; vii. 67 ; Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc. of Bombay, xi. p. 361. Prof. Kern is of opinion that the accounts of the persecutions which the Buddhists must have had to undergo are to be classed with the tales of "My Mother the Goose." Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten, p. 43.

¹ The inscriptions of the Calukyas of the sixth and eighth century, in the Ind. Antiq., v. 69 ; vii. 106, 112. One of their vassals in the eleventh century built at ■■■ and the same time a temple of Jina, another of Çiva, and a third of Vishnu, *ibid.*, iv. 180. Even as late as 1119, a Çilâhâra prince of the Western Dekhan made gifts at ■■■ to Çiva, Buddha, and Arhat (= Jina), Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc., Bombay, xiii. p. 7. The Cera princes of the Gaṅgâvâṃça ■■■

Vishnuïtes, and their donations, until the tenth century, are made indifferently to Brahmans and Jainas, Ind. Antiq., i. 363 ; ii. 156 ; v. 136, 138 ; vi. 102 ; vii. 104, 112.

² See, for example, the rôle of the Buddhist priestess in the *Mâlâtî* and *Mâdhava* of Bhavabhûti, the characters, or the mention of Buddhist characters, which occur in the *Mṛicchakaṭikâ*, in the *Mudrârâkshasa*, in the *Daçakumâracarita*, and the *Nâgânanda* (this Buddhist drama of the seventh century has been translated into English by Palmer Boyd, 1872, and into French by A. Bergaigne, 1879). See, besides, *Varâha Mihira*, *Bṛihat Samhitâ*, lviii. 44, 45 ; lx. 19. Moreover, the accounts in the *Râjatarāṅginî*, if they at times give evidence of ■■■ certain animosity against the Buddhists, do not by any means exhibit them in the light of persons excommunicated and beyond the pale of Hindu society. Even in the 12th century we find ■■■ Buddhist religious figuring among the favourites of Harshadeva, king of Kashmir ; *Râjatarāṅg.*, vii. 1100.

odious kind of it without any mercy.¹ At a later period she was no stranger to the excesses of propagandism, and it would seem that it is Buddhism she has to thank for her first lesson in this particular. It was not for nothing that the latter, in spite of its gentle spirit, showed itself a Church with universal pretensions and power of political adaptation. Even the proceedings connected with its erection into a state religion by Açoka appear to have been accompanied, if not with violence, at any rate with coercion, as is evident from the expressions ascribed to that prince. In less than two years, he says, "The gods who were worshipped as true divinities in Jambudvîpa (in India) have been rendered false; and this result is not the effect of my greatness, but of my zeal."² Up to the present time, there is nothing from a Brahmanic source to match this testimony, so significant in its brevity. From an early period, and long before that of the Brahmans, is the literature of the Buddhists of a violent temper, openly aggressive, and replete with tales of cruelty; and even in the work of the good Hiouen-Thsang we meet at every step with the naïve expression of the most cordial hatred, and that, too, on the part of a soul of the gentlest temper. The Brahmans, it is true, were not slow in retaliating in the same vein. The religions of the sects, not less eagerly zealous in their propaganda than Buddhism, were fanatical to an intense degree.³ The disciples of Kumârila and Çaṅkara, organised into military orders, constituted themselves the rabid defenders of ortho-

¹ The true Brahmanical fanaticism is that which inspired the narrative of Râmâyana, vii. ch. 74-76, where Râma cuts off the head of a Çûdra whom he surprises performing penances forbidden to his caste.

² Inscript. of Sahasrâm, of Rup-nâth and Bairât, in the Ind. Antiq., vi. 156, and Corpus Inscript. Indic., pl. xiv. Compare with this the institution of the Dharmamahâmâtras,

everything connected with religion. Fifth edict of Girnanar, reproduced at Kapurdigiri, Khâlsi, and Dhauli, in the Corpus Inscript. Indic., i. 71, and the pillar edict of Delhi, *ibid.* p. 115.

³ The mere fact of entering a Buddhist sanctuary is in the Vrihannâradiya Purâna reckoned in the number of the sins for which there is forgiveness. Aufrecht, Oxford

doxy on the ground of tradition and speculation. That, in these manifold struggles, other weapons than those of persuasion were employed; that the leaders of parties did not scruple at times to compass their ends by the physical force mediation of some rāja, or by stirring up against their adversaries the passions of the mob; that the Buddhists in particular, as they became weaker, were subjected to many vexatious annoyances, and that their enemies, in their eagerness to appropriate their property and their sanctuaries, did not always wait until the last possessors had left, is what we must frankly admit. But there is a great difference between such local broils as these and a general mustering of forces on the field with a view to wholesale persecution; the possibility of an enterprise of this nature is out of the question in the divided state, political and religious, of India at that time. Everything, on the contrary, tends to prove that Buddhism became extinct from sheer exhaustion, and that it is in its own inherent defects we must especially seek for the causes of its disappearance.

In fact, there is no doubt whatever that Buddhism has been smitten with premature decrepitude. From the great deeds which it has done, from the new ideas which it has disseminated in the world, from the numberless lives of devotion which it has inspired, we feel assured that there was once a time when it must have been fresh with youth and full of vigour; but we have, in truth, no direct evidence of the fact. With the exception of certain admirable stanzas,¹ and some legends of striking beauty, notwithstanding their imperfect redaction, all it

¹ Particularly those of the collection entitled *Dhammapada*. The Pāli text, with a Latin translation and copious extracts from the commentary of Buddhaghosha, was published at Copenhagen by V. Fausbøll, 1855. It has been translated into German by A. Weber, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, t. xiv.;

into English by Max Müller, in his *Introduction to the work of H. T. Rogers, Buddhaghosha's Parables*, translated from the Burmese, 1869, and by S. Beal (on the Chinese text), *Scriptural Texts from the Buddhist Canon*, commonly known as the *Dhammapada*, 1878; into French by F. Hù, 1878.

has left us bears the stamp of senility. It cannot claim an assignable place either in poetry or Hindu science; nowhere has it been able to give birth to a national literature, or rise above the popular tale and the chronicle. Many causes have contributed to reduce Buddhism to this monotonous and helpless mediocrity, and it would not be difficult to discover some of these even in the teaching of Çâkyamuni, in his disrelish for the supernatural, in his ideas as too abstract for a sensual people with an exuberant imagination, in his morbid way especially of laying down and resolving the problem of life. We shall instance here only one of these causes, because it has, in our opinion, been the most direct and effectual, the very institution to which this creed must have owed its rapid triumphs at first; we refer to its monasticism. Some are at times fain to regard Buddhism as a spiritual emancipation, a kind of Hindu Reformation; and there is no doubt that in certain respects it was both. But in substituting the Saṅgha for the caste system of Brahmanism, it created an institution far more illiberal, and formidable to spiritual independence. Not only did all the vitality of the Church continue concentrated in a clergy living apart from the world, but among this clergy itself the conquering zeal of the first centuries gradually died away under the influence of quietism and the discipline enforced. The *vihâras*, in spite of the laxity of morale which too clearly prevailed, continued, no doubt, to afford a shelter for sentiments of humble and sincere piety and the practice of the most heart-affecting virtues. But all boldness and true originality of thought disappeared in the end in the bosom of this spirit-weakening organisation. The intellectual powers were exhausted in scholastic discussion or lulled to sleep in the midst of idle routine, and a time came at length when it ceased even to give birth to heresies. The Buddhism of Ceylon has not changed much since the time of Buddhaghosha (in the fifth century), and that of Nepâl, or rather of Hindustan, could devise no better

means of prolonging life than by effecting ■ sort of fusion with Çivaism.¹ It was in this state of apathy, when it had, so to speak, outlived itself, that Buddhism had to enter into competition with the neo-Brahmanic sects, which were in constant process of new birth, at each new transformation rushing into the arena of debate with the zeal of neophytes. When we consider that the majority of these sects gave battle with its own weapons; that they preached, like it, the religious equality of all men; that over against the figure of Buddha they set figures, less perfect doubtless, but quite as personal, quite as capable of stirring up a passionate devotion of legendary deities, such as Mahâdêva, Kṛishṇa, Râma, to say nothing of their goddesses; when we consider that they knew at least ■ well as it how to appeal to the senses with their temples, their images, their pompous and stagy festivals, and that they possessed, moreover, a splendid system of fable, while it had only been able to cloak itself in an abstract artificial mythology; when, in addition to this, we consider, in fine, that they had at their head the Brahman and at their service the popular poetry, that their religious beliefs formed one body, so to speak, with the national legend, and recalled all the glorious and heroic memories of the ancient epic, we shall very easily understand how Buddhism had to go to the wall. To have been made sure of a longer life, it would have required the return to life of the first apostles of its faith, and it had only *bonzes*.

But while it was disappearing as a Church, it did not

¹ On this point see B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepâl and Tibet*, ed. 1874, particularly the essay x. p. 133 *seq.*; Burnouf, *Introduction à l'Hist. du Bond. Ind.*, p. 546 *seq.*; Köppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, vol. ii., and the brief but ■■■■■ compact Memoir of Paṇḍit Bhagvanlâl Indrajî, *The Bauddha Mythology of Nepâl*, given as an appendix by J. Burgess in No. 9 of the *Archæo-*

logical Survey of Western India, p. 97 *seq.* This fusion must have been pretty thorough before writings could become common to the two religions, for example the *Praçnottararatna-mâlâ* (published in Sanskrit, in Tibetan, and in French, by Ed. Foucaux, *La Guirlande Précieuse des Demandes et des Réponses*, 1867, and by A. Weber in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Berlin* for 1868, p. 92 *seq.*), ascribed to Çaṅkara.

take along with it the germs which it had for long had the opportunity of disseminating, and it left the very religions which succeeded in smothering it more or less pervaded by its spirit. There is no doubt that there is in Sanskrit literature, or, to speak more correctly, in the literature of the Hindus, an under-current, ■ it were, of Buddhist ideas. If we take, for example, the fable of the Mahâ-bhârata, we shall see how different the spirit in which it is treated is from that in which it was conceived; and we should find ■ more striking instance still if we went back to the poetry of the Râmâyana. There are here accents of an ardent charity, of a compassion, a tenderness, and ■ humility at once sweet and plaintive, which ever and anon suggest the action of Christian influences, and which, in any case, contrast singularly with the pride and want of feeling—fruits of the spirit of caste—with which that literature is nevertheless replete. Quite as remarkable in this respect is the change which has taken place in the religious observances of this people, the gradual discontinuance of sacrifice to the advantage of almsgiving, pious deeds, and the worship of latreia; especially that aversion to the shedding of blood which has more and more restricted the practice of animal sacrifice, and which turned up eventually in that whimsical exaggeration of charity towards brutes in the erection of hospitals in their behalf¹ in a country where there are none for men. It would be to make ■ false use of historical coincidences to affect to see dimly in all these facts the direct action of Buddhism; but we cannot nevertheless deny that they belong to a movement inspired by ideas to which Buddhism had given the most effective expression.

¹ Heber, Narrative of ■ Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, 1824-25, ch. xxv.

IV.

JAINISM.

Canonical literature of the Jainas as yet little known.—Striking resemblance between Jainism and Buddhism: the Jinas and the mythology of the Jainas.—Cultus.—Rejection of the Veda and caste.—Clergy and lay community.—Chief divisions of the Jainas.—Asceticism, metaphysics, and moral system.—The Jina and the Buddha of the present age: the Nirvâṇa of the Jina.—Uncertain character of Jaina tradition.—The Nirgrantha Jñatiputra.—Whatever the date of its origin, Jainism historically more recent than Buddhism.—Present condition of Jainism.

BEFORE we proceed to the sects of new Brahmanism, we have still to speak of a religion closely allied to Buddhism, and one of the least known among those which have performed an important part in the past of India—the religion of the Jainas. Not that we are absolutely without documents bearing on the history and the doctrines of Jainism. We possess, among others, a manual of the twelfth century, the *Yogasûtra*,¹ which gives a summary of its morals; the *Kalpasûtra*, a translation of a biography of its founder, which professes to date as far back as the sixth century;²

¹ E. Windisch, Hemaçandra's *Yogasûtra*, ein Beitrag zum Kenntniss der Jaina Lehre, in the *Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, vol. xxviii. p. 185. *L'Abhidhânacintâmaṇi*, a lexicon, by the author, of synonyms, edited by O. Böhtlingk and Ch. Rieu, 1847, contains also a good deal of information in regard to the Jainas.

² Stevenson, *The Kalpasûtra and Nava Tatva, Two Works Illustrative of the Jaina Religion and Philosophy*, translated from the *Magadhi*, 1848. H. Jacobi has since published the

text of the first, with a learned introduction, *The Kalpasûtra of Bhadrabâhu*, edited with an introduction, notes, and a Prâkrit-Saṅskṛit glossary, 1879. The pretended author, Bhadrabâhu, must have lived, according to the tradition of the Çvetâmbaras, in the fourth century B.C.; but the redaction have dates most only from the commencement of the sixth century after . . . The Digambaras reject the *Kalpasûtra* as apocryphal. See the introduction of Jacobi, pp. 10 seq., . . . seq., 30.

some extensive extracts from another work of biography and legend, the *Çatruñjaya-mâhâtmya*,¹ which is assigned to the same period, but which has probably been recast in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and sundry specimens of the *Stotras*, or the lyric poetry of the Jainas.² But, with the exception of a single fragment of the *Bhagavati*,³ we do not possess another of their canonical texts; and we are still always obliged to refer to Brahmanical sources to obtain a general view of their system. Now, these are interested exclusively in the speculative side of the doctrines, and, moreover, they supply us with no data to enable us to distinguish epochs in their development. On the other hand, we happen to know that the Jainas form several distinct sects, very widely separated from one another, differing even in regard to the number and the selection of their canonical books, the *Agamas*.⁴ In these circumstances, it would be rash to venture to expound and criticise in detail a system which ■ yet is known to us only in ■ sort of abstract way, and in regard to the historic development of which we are absolutely in the dark.⁵

¹ A. Weber, Ueber das *Çatruñjaya Mâhâtmyam*, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Jaina, 1858. The biography of the Jina is here connected with the glorification of the holy mountain *Çatruñjaya*, in the peninsula of Gujarât. Bühler holds this work to be quite apocryphal, *Ind. Antiq.*, vi. 154.

² H. Jacobi, *Zwei Jaina-stotra*, in the *Ind. Stud.*, xiv. p. 359, and *The Kalpasûtra*, p. 13; Joh. Klatt, *Dhanapâla's Rishabhapañcâçikâ*, in the *Zeitsch. d. D. Morgenl. Gesell.*, xxxiii. p. 445. Besides, H. Jacobi has published, with ■ translation and ■ commentary, the legend, very curious in a historical point of view, of one of the fathers of the Jaina Church, *Das Kâlakâçârya-Kathânakam*, in the *Zeitsch. d. D. Morgenl. Gesell.*, xxxiv. p. 247 seq.

³ A. Weber, Ueber ein Fragment der *Bhagavati*; ein Beitrag zur

Kenntniss der heiligen Litteratur der Jaina, two parts, 1866-67, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Berlin*. An edition of the *Bhagavati* began to appear in Bombay, in 1877, under the editorship of Abhayadeva, in a collection intended to include all the sacred writings of the Jainas. We must ■ add the *Nirayâvaliyâ Suttam*, which contains the five last of the twelve *Upângas*, and which S. Warren has just edited, 1880. Perhaps there is better to come, but as far as yet published it is wretchedly poor literature.

⁴ G. Bühler in the *Ind. Antiq.*, vii. 28; H. Jacobi, *Kalpasûtra*, p. 14; S. J. Warren, *Over de Godsdiënstige ■ Wijsgeerige Begrippen der Jainas*, p. 7; A. C. Burnell, in the *Ind. Antiq.*, ii. 354. See *ibid.*, iii. 129.

⁵ Besides the works mentioned already, consult for ■ general review

Viewed as a whole, Jainism is so exact a reproduction of Buddhism that we have considerable difficulty in accounting for both their long-continued existence by each other's side, and the cordial hatred which seems always to have separated them. The Jainas are the followers of *Jina*, the "victorious," as the Bauddhas are of Buddha, the "awakened" one. A Jina (this term, which is common to the two sects, along with many others, being among the Buddhists one of the many synonyms of Buddha) is a sage who has reached omniscience, and who comes to re-establish the law in its purity when it has become corrupted among men. There have been twenty-four of these Jinas, the last Jina included, who was of the royal race of the Kâçyapas. As the Jainas maintain that Gautama Buddha was a disciple of their founder, this number exactly corresponds with that of the twenty-four predecessors of Buddha, the last of whom is a Kâçyapa as well. These Jinas succeeded each other at immense intervals of time, their stature and their term of life always decreasing from the first Rishabha, who was 3000 feet in height and lived eight millions of years, until Vardhamâna, the last, whose age and stature did not exceed those of actual humanity.¹ These fancies, which, along with many others, we meet with in Buddhism,² especially in that of the low epochs, with this difference, however, that their more mature elaboration and arrangement must almost always be credited to the side of the Jainas, go to prove that at a very late date the two religions still exercised a certain influence on one another. Like the Buddhas, the Jinas became veritable deities and the direct objects of worship.

of the Jainas and their doctrines, Col  brooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. ii. p. 174 (1807), and vol. i. p. 402 (1826); to this last article Prof. Cowell has added, at p. 444, a minute analysis of chap. iii. of the *Sarvadar  nasa  graha*, where S  yana expounds the system of the Jainas. H. H. Wilson, *Select Works*, vol. i. p. 276.

Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.*, vol. iv. p. 755. S. J. Warren, *  ver de Godsdiensdige en Wijsgeerige Begrippen der Jainas*, 1875.

¹ See the detailed list in the *Ind. Antiq.*, ii. 134.

² See *J  taka Commentary*, ed. Fausb  ll, i. 29 *seq.*

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at Canoje in the seventh.¹ Their respective relations recall those subsisting between the Buddhist sects of the Great and the Little Vehicle; that is to say, in spite of considerable differences, they are rather rivals than declared enemies. To this division another, as among the Buddhists, has come to be added—that of the Jainas of the North and the Jainas of the South—which, though simply geographical in its origin, has extended in the end to the doctrines taught, the question of the canon of scripture, and the entire body of the traditions and usages.² The Digambāras Yatis no longer practise nudity nowadays, except during their meals, when they take these in common. But it is evident that the practice must have been more rigidly enforced at former times; and Hesychius, in the third century, was doubtless well informed when he translated *Γέννοι* by *Γυμνοσοφιστάι*.³ This evidence, joined to many others, such as the practice of depilation, seems to imply that at first one of the leading differences between Jainas and Buddhists was that the former professed a more rigorous asceticism than the latter. No Hindu sect has carried *ahimsā* farther, i.e., respect for and abstinence from everything that has life. Not only do they abstain absolutely from all kinds of flesh, but the more rigid of them drink only filtered water, breathe only through a veil, and go sweeping the ground before them for fear of unconsciously swallowing or crushing any invisible animalcule. In regard to all these matters, primitive Buddhism had much fewer scruples. The extravagances of asceticism, nudity in particular, were expressly condemned by Çākya-muni. Some of his disciples even broke partnership with him on that score; and we know

ment the revenue of a village is divided between the Çvêtapatas (Çvetāmbaras) and the Nirgranthas. See also Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc. Bombay, xii. 321.

¹ Bāna, in F. E. Hall, *Vāsava-dattā*, Pref., p. 53.

² Ind. Antiq., ii. 354; iii. 129.

³ In Varāha Mihira's (sixth century) *Bṛihat Samhita*, lx. 19, ed. Kern, Nagna, "naked," is the official designation of a Jaina Yati.

that according to tradition he himself died from a fit of indigestion after dining on pork. In regard to another observance, equally repudiated by Buddha, religious suicide, to wit, the Jainas differ; one of their canonical books condemns it, the Bhagavatî emphatically affirming that "suicide increases life."¹ But, on the other hand, inscriptions that have been collected together from sanctuaries in the Dekhan leave no doubt as to the frequent practice of this custom among the Jainas of the South during a long period of the middle age.²

It is always to Buddhism that we are referred back when we come to examine the general doctrine of the Jainas. The essential points, such as the idea of the world and the philosophy of life, are nearly the same in both. Like the Buddhists, the Jainas are atheists. They admit of no creator; the world is eternal; and they explicitly deny the possibility of a perfect being from all eternity. The Jina became perfect; he was not always so. Like the Buddhists of the North, this denial has not prevented them, or at least some of them, from returning to a sort of deism; and just as in the books of Nepâl we see an *Adibuddha*, a supreme Buddha, arise, so we find in the monumental inscriptions of the Dekhan a *Jinapati*, a supreme Jina, entitled the primary creator,³ and that in contradiction to the most explicit declarations extracted from their most authorised writings. All beings are divided into two classes, animate and inanimate. Animate beings are composed of a soul and a body, and their souls, being radically distinct from matter, are eternal. This is one of the very few essential points in which the doctrinal system of Jainism deviates from that of Buddhism. On the other hand, it is in very close affinity with the Sâṅkhya conception; and it explains in a quite similar way how the soul, which is pure intelligence, is nevertheless a prey to illusion, and condemned on that account to

¹ A. Weber, Ueber ein Fragment der Bhagavatî, 2d part, p. 267. gola, in the Ind. Antiq., ii. 322; iii. 153.

² The inscriptions of Çravaṇa Bel- ³ Ind. Antiq., vii. p. 106, l. 51.

submit to the yoke of matter through an infinite succession of existences. It is, therefore, not the fact of existence which is the evil in the eyes of the Jainas; it is life which is bad; and Nirvâna is with them, not the annihilation of the soul, but rather its deliverance and its entry into ■ blessedness that has no end. The way to Nirvâna is naturally revealed by the Jina. The means of reaching it constitute the Triratna, the "three jewels:" first, the perfect faith, or faith in the Jina; second, the perfect science, or the knowledge of his doctrine; third, perfect conduct, or the strict observance of his precepts. Under a form, at first sight perceptibly different, we at once recognise here the Triratna of the Buddhists, viz., Buddha, the Law, and the Saṅgha. Thus we detect in these two systems throughout a constant effort, as it were, not to appear to have too close ■ connection with each other—a fact which, still more than their open collisions, proves their close relationship. The development of the "perfect conduct," for instance, is the exact counterpart of the moral teaching and discipline of Buddhism. Only, if we except a small number of points, such as the classification of merits and of sins, which is the same, everything is transposed; the same things are called by different names, and the same names denote different things. We might say they are two mosaics of different design but composed of similar pieces. As matter of detail, we may observe that the Digambaras agree with the Buddhists in maintaining that women have not the capacity of attaining Nirvâna, while the Çvetâmbaras teach that they have.¹

¹ The canon of the Digambaras is very different from that of the Çvetâmbaras (G. Bühler, in *Ind. Antiq.*, vii. p. 28), and ■ little is that of the Digambaras of the South the same ■ that of the Digambaras of the North (Burnell, *ibid.*, ii. p. 354). For the canon of the Çvetâmbaras of the North, the only one of which anything is known, see the lists of Bühler (in Jacobi, *The Kalpasû-*

tra, p. 14), Klatt and Jacobi (in the *Zeitsch. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxxiii. pp. 478, 693). This canon includes forty-five Agamas or texts composing the law, viz., eleven Aṅgas (these are the sacred books *par excellence*, collected, according to tradition, in the fourth century B.C. by the Saṅgha of Pâtaliputra; the *Bhagavatî* is one of the Aṅgas); twelve Upâṅgas, or auxiliary trea-

In this also the former appear to have adhered more faithfully to the original doctrine. Finally, the denial of the objective reality of the conceptions of the mind, which is one of the fundamental doctrines of the Buddhists, has its counterpart in the probabilism of the Jainas. The latter maintain, in fact, that we can neither affirm nor deny anything absolutely of an object, and that ■ predicate never expresses more than a possibility. Hence the Brahmans, who call the Bauddhas *Çânyavâdins*, that is, "those who affirm the void," designate the Jainas by the term *Syâdvâdins*, i.e., "those who say perhaps."

But the attempt to trace the parallelism of the two religions becomes really perplexing when we pass to their traditions, to those especially which concern their respective founders. The legend of Vardhamâna, or, to apply to him the name which is most in use, Mahâvîra, "the great hero," the Jina of the present age, presents ■ many and so peculiar points of contact with that of Gautama Buddha, that we are irresistibly led to conclude that one and the same person is the subject of both.¹ Both are of royal birth; the same names recur among their relatives and disciples; they were born and they died in the same country and at the same period of time. According to the accepted reports, the Nirvâna of the Jina took place in 526 B.C., that of Buddha in 543 B.C.; and if we make allowances for the uncertainty inherent in these data (since we know that the real year of the death

tises (one of them, the *Sûryaprajñapti*, which treats of astrology and calculation, has been the subject of an extended analysis on the part of A. Weber in the *Ind. Stud.*, x. p. 294 seq.); ten *Prakîrṇakas*, or miscellaneous; eight *Chedas*, or sections, fragments; and four *Mûlasûtras*, ■ fundamental *Sûtras*. The Jainas themselves admit that all this literature is of secondary formation; that from the second century after the death of the founder, all their ancient books (the fourteen *Pûrvas*) were lost,

and that the canon now accepted was made up only at the commencement of the sixth century A.D., by the *Sâṅgha* of Valabhi, under the direction of Devarddhigaṇin. This redaction itself seems to have undergone since that time notable alterations. Jacobi, *The Kalpasûtra*, pp. 14 seq., 30.

¹ See A. Weber, *Ueber das Çatruṇjayamahâtmya*, p. 2; H. Kern, *Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten*, p. 28.

of Buddha fell between 482 and 472 B.C.), the two dates may be considered ■ identical.¹ Coincidences quite similar occur in the course of the two traditions. Like the Buddhists, the Jainas claim to have been patronised by the Maurya princes. The former had Açoka for patron; the latter speak of Sampadi, his grandson, in the same connection, and even of his grandfather, Candragupta, who, according to the traditions of the South, must have been a Jaina ascetic.² A district which is ■ holy land for the one is almost always a holy land for the other, and their sacred places adjoin each other in Behar, in the peninsula of Gujarât, on Mount Abû in Râjastan, as well as elsewhere. If we collate together all these correspondences in doctrine, organisation, religious observances and traditions, the inference seems inevitable that one of the two religions is a sect, and, in some degree, the copy of the other. When, in addition to this, we think of the manifold relations which there are between the legend of Buddha and the Brahmanical traditions, relations which are wanting in the legend of Mahâvîra; when we reflect, moreover, that Buddhism has in its behalf the testimony of the edicts of Açoka, and that from that time, the third century before our era, it was in possession of a literature some of the titles of which have been transmitted to us,³ while the most ancient testimonies of an unquestionable nature in favour of Jainism do not go farther back than the fifth century after Christ (for the mention of the Nir-granthas in the edicts of Açoka amounts only to a probability, and the application to the Jainas of an inscription of Mathurâ of the first century is doubtful);⁴ when we

¹ For the various computations current among the Jainas, see Jacobi, *The Kalpasûtra*, pp. 8 and 30. One of them gives for the death of Mahâvîra a date which differs only by about ■ dozen years from the *true* date of the death of Buddha; the other, which is borrowed from the tradition of the Digambaras, gives a date only two years different from the official but *false* date of the Singhalese

Nirvâna. These are very surprising coincidences.

² *Ind. Antiq.*, iii. p. 155.

³ The inscription of Bairât in the *Corpus Inscript. Indic.*, pl. xv.

⁴ A. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey*, vol. iii. p. 35. The nudity of the figure is perhaps not decisive in favour of ■ Jaina origin. See, however, *ibid.*, vol. i. p. 94.

reflect further that the chief sacred language of the Buddhists, the Pâli, is almost ■ ancient ■ these edicts, while that of the Jainas, the *ardha-mâgadhî*, is a prâkrit dialect obviously more recent;¹ when we add to all this the conclusions, very uncertain, it is true, in the present state of our knowledge, which are furnished by the internal characteristics of Jainism, such as its more mature systematisation, its tendency to expatiate, and the pains it is always taking to demonstrate its antiquity, we shall feel no hesitation in admitting that, of the two, Buddhism is the one which is best entitled to the claim to originality.² We are bound to add, however, that Professor G. Bühler, the scholar who is best acquainted with the still unedited literature of the Jainas of the North, thinks he has come upon data to prove that the traditions concerning Mahâvîra point back to a real personage distinct from Gautama Buddha, and nearly contemporary with him, whose real name must have been the Nirgrantha Jñâtîputra, *i.e.*, the ascetic of the Jñâtîs, Jñâtî denoting a Rajput tribe to which the Nirgrantha must have belonged.³ This fact, if it were per-

¹ For the age of the Jaina writings, see now H. Jacobi, *Kalpasûtra*, Introd., p. 15.

² Colebrooke had adopted the contrary conclusion, *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. ii. p. 276, ed. Cowell. H. H. Wilson, on the other hand, did not think the Jainas more ancient than the eighth or ninth century, *Select Writings*, vol. i. p. 334.

³ *Ind. Antiq.*, vii. p. 143. H. Jacobi, who shares with Bühler the honour of this discovery, has since expounded it with a greater array of details, *Kalpasûtra*, p. 6. From this investigation it follows that, at the period of the redaction of the *Kalpasûtra*, the Jainas, in fact, acknowledge the Nirgrantha Nâtaputta ■ their founder (the Jñâtîputra of the books of Nepâl, Nâyaputta in Jaina prâkrit), one of the six Tîthiyas or false teachers, whom the Buddhist books make contemporary with Buddha (see *supra*, p. 123). We

only require to ascertain what this tradition is worth, and to what extent it is independent of that of the Buddhists, which, in its turn, on this particular point of the six Tîthiyas, is none the less artificial. Pending the more profound study of ancient Jaina literature, of which, thanks to G. Bühler, the library of Berlin now possesses a nearly complete collection, and the results of which will throw fresh light on the subject, we must confess that the data collected by Jacobi do not appear to us altogether to confirm the authority of Jaina tradition, and that in adding ■ coincidences to those which we know already, they tend rather to strengthen the suspicion that there is much that is borrowed in the alleged Jaina original. Compare, however, the recent observations of Jacobi in the *Indian Antiquary*, ix. p. 158, especially the curious parallels to which he draws attention

fectly established, would evidently be of great weight, and only a few more such would suffice to modify greatly the preceding conclusions. But by itself alone it can prove neither the authenticity of the biography of the Jina, nor, in particular, the originality of Jainism, which, viewed in the light of the affiliation of the doctrines, we must continue to regard, till further proof be forthcoming, as a sect that took its rise in Buddhism.

At what period did this sect attain a really independent existence? To answer this question we must first be able to determine the character of primitive Jainism, and that is a problem which we will be able to face only after we have obtained access to the canonical books of the sect. Up to the present time, our sources of information on the matter are limited to external testimonies. We have seen already that the Nirgranthas, from the inscriptions of Açoka, in all probability concerned, if not the Jainas, at all events the ancestors of existing Jainism. From its philological characteristics, the sacred language of the sect would take us back for the origin of its literature to a later epoch by several centuries—to the beginning of our era. From the date of the fifth century, on the other hand, we find the Jainas in fixed settlements at the very extremity of the peninsula; and it is to them and the Buddhists, who had, however, preceded them in these districts, that the first literary culture of the Canarese and Tamîl languages can be traced. In the seventh century, in the time of Hiouen-Thsang, they were the dominant sect in the Dekhan. At the present time they are much reduced in number (to about half ■ million), and as a Church they are fallen into decay. They still always collect, however, in remarkable groups in the South, where they in general

between the opinions which the Buddhist books ascribe to the Nirgrantha and doctrines in vogue among the Jainas. According to these recent researches, the accurate orthography of the name must have been

Jñâtriputra. Jacobi is disposed also to believe now that Mahāvira was only the reformer of the sect, and that the latter in reality dates back ■ far as Pârçvanâtha, the Jina before the last, if not still farther.

practise agriculture, and in Western Hindustan, where they prefer to devote themselves to commerce, and where communities of them, which are for the most part wealthy, hardly present any traces of their primitive asceticism. In almost all the large towns, from Lahore to Bombay and Calcutta, we meet with them settled as traders or bankers, and the particular aptitude they show for traffic constantly reminds us of the conspicuous part which merchants, goldsmiths, and shipowners play in the legends and inscriptions of Buddhism. In Behar, the country of their birth, where the sanctuary of Pârasnâth (a vulgar form of the word Pârçvanâtha, the Jina before the last) is to this day an object of pilgrimage,¹ they have almost entirely disappeared as a settled population.² It would be easy to form conjectures to explain the survival of these Jainas, in contrast with the very different fate of the Buddhists. We shall hazard only one such. Whatever may be the date of the first rise of Jainism, its appearance as a religion is later than that of Buddhism, and from a historical point of view it is more recent. It was thus able to hold on till the period of the Mahomedan domination, the effect of which was to arrest the propagation of Hinduism, and which, while it evidently contributed to the religious, political, and social dismemberment of the nation, everywhere showed itself conservative of minorities, small associations, and small churches.

¹ See Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. xvi. p. 216.

² Remnants, for most part extremely degenerate, and of which — have lost all recollection of their origin, are scattered about under the name of

Sarâks, Sarâvâks (= Çrâvaka), in the districts south-west of Bengal and the tributary states dependent on it. Hunter, *op. cit.*, vol. xvi. p. 381, vol. xvii. p. 291.

V.

HINDUISM.

Sect the very essence of Hinduism.—Place which the Veda and ancient tradition hold in it.—Part which the Brahmans play in it : as having adopted while they control the new religions, though these have never been entirely subject to them.

THE sectarian or neo-Brahmanic religions, which we embrace under the general designation of Hinduism, and which are at the present time professed by about 180,000,000 people¹ in British India, Nepâl, Ceylon, Indo-China, the Sunda Isles, at the Mauritius, at the Cape, and ■ far as the West Indies, where they have been imported by the Coolies, do not form a whole as homogeneous ■ ancient Brahmanism, still less Buddhism and Jainism. In spite of the efforts made at different periods and from different points of view to reduce them to a kind of unity, they have steadily resisted every attempt to group them systematically. They constitute a fluctuating mass of beliefs, opinions, usages, observances, religious and social ideas, in which we recognise a certain common ground-principle, and a decided family likeness indeed, but from which it would be very difficult to educe any accurate definition. At the present time it is next to impossible to say exactly what Hinduism is, where it begins, and where it ends. Diversity is its very essence, and its

¹ According to the ■■■■ of 1872, the population of British India amounted to 245,000,000, of whom 140,000,000 were Hindus. In this number were not included the half-

naturalised populations, who ■■ socially excluded from Hinduism, but who, in ■ religious point of view, cannot be entirely separated from it.

proper manifestation is "sect," sect in constant mobility, and reduced to such a state of division that nothing similar to it was ever seen in any other religious system. In the past this dividing process, doubtless, was carried on to ■ less degree; still, however far we go back, we are led to fancy, if we do not find, ■ state of things which must have more or less resembled what we witness to-day. Hence, in the investigation to which we have still to subject these beliefs, we must abandon all idea of carrying our analysis as far as the sectarian element, although that is the only real thing at bottom; but not to lose ourselves in a waste of detail or an enumeration of particulars without meaning, we shall be obliged to keep to generalities, and to treat them in categories.

We have already had frequent occasion to characterise the relation of these religions to those which preceded them, or those whose development was contemporary with theirs. Like that of Buddhism, their rise was in general due to the unsatisfactory nature of the old Brahmanical theology, the divinities of which had gradually retired and disappeared behind a host of abstractions too subtle to affect the conscience of the masses. But in taking this step they did not, like the sect of Çâkyamuni, openly sunder all connection with the past. They, on the contrary, claim to be its continuation, or rather they represent themselves to be that very past unchanged and unmodified. The most of them profess to be based on the Veda, with which at bottom they have almost nothing in common, and which they virtually superseded by a quite different literature, but to which, in spite of protestations to the contrary which they sometimes let drop,¹ they nevertheless continue to appeal to as

¹ For instance, in the Mahâbhârata, i. 269, it is said that when the gods put into the balance ■ the one scale the four Vedas, and ■ the other the Mahâbhârata alone, the latter outweighed the former. The Agni-Purâna, i. 8-11, declares

that it is the revelation of the supreme brâhman, of which the Veda is only the inferior expression. The Bhagavad Gita does not adopt a different style of speaking, ii. 42-45; ix. 21. This is ■ echo of the Upanishads.

their highest authority. And to a certain extent there is truth in this profession. They have always drawn liberally from this old store, borrowing from it in part their formulæ, usages, legends, and even doctrines, almost always spoiling what they appropriate from it, but also attaining at times, in their more learned forms, a more or less partial assimilation with that system. The cultus peculiar to them, for instance, is radically distinct from the cultus of Brahmanism; yet is this last not, therefore, entirely set aside. At bottom, it is true, they despise it, and will extinguish it in the end. But when it is their interest to do so, they boast of its excellence. In Bhagavad-Gîtâ, Kṛishṇa declares expressly that he regards every religious act which is done in faith as addressed to himself.¹ Thus it is possible to be at once an orthodox Brahmanist and a zealous sectary.

The traditional and to a certain extent mixed character of the majority of these religions is naturally accounted for by reference to the fact that it was the Brahmans who took the leading part in their formation. Except in what concerns the authority of the Veda, upon which their own claim to the primacy depended, the latter were by no means such uncompromising conservatives as some are disposed to represent them. As they formed the intellectual and religious aristocracy of the nation, they must, on the contrary, have felt more keenly than others the unsatisfactory nature of doctrines so antiquated; and so, in fact, we find them at the head of all new movements. Here, besides, they had an obvious interest in not repudiating beliefs which gave them an advantage in contending against the progress of Buddhism, so much more formidable to them otherwise. In any case, and whatever their motives may have been, they threw themselves into the movement with ardour. Almost the whole literature of these religions is more or less their work; and among the founders of the sects, the memory of whom is

¹ Bhagavad Gîtâ, ix. 24, 25; vii. 20-23.

preserved in the pages of history, there are few which have not belonged to their caste. Nor did they merely content themselves with being the theologians of the new cultus systems; they were also their ministers. In spite of the prohibitions of the Smritis, many of them became the attendants on the temples and the idols, as well as the priests, the guides, and the contractors in pilgrimages and local devotions. Only it is of importance to remark that the old prohibition has never been revoked, and that even in our day those who exercise these functions form so many inferior classes, whom the Brahmans of high caste, even though they share in their beliefs, despise, and whose right to wear the sacred cord they more or less contest.

We have in this an indication which goes to show that, if the sacerdotal caste played a very considerable part in the development of these religions, the latter have never been either at first or since entirely dependent on it. And this indication is not the only one. The most ancient section of the sectarian literature, which in its existing form is certainly the work of the Brahmans, did not always belong to them. The Mahâbârata and several Purânas are put into the mouth of profane bards;¹ and although they are styled the fifth Veda,² no exception was ever taken to the translation of them into the vulgar dialects.³ If we except the *mantras*, or the formulæ strictly so called, in which the sense of the words is everything, the sects have no sacred language. Popular songs, sung in all the dialects of India, have, on the

¹ The Sûtas, the equeries. See what E. Burnouf says, Bhâgavata Pur., vol. i., Pref. p. xxv.

² Chândog. Up., vii. 1, 2; Mahâbârata, iii. 2247.

³ All these translations are very free, the majority even being reproductions rather than genuine versions. Contrary to what happened at an early date with regard to the Veda, the formalism of the letter has never been carried very far in connection

with this literature. It constitutes the less in all other respects a genuine sacred literature. In Népâl, for example, it is still the custom, before the courts of justice, to place the Harivaṃṣa on the head of the witnesses if they are Hindus, the Pancarakshî or the Koran if they are Buddhists or Mussulmans: B. H. Hodgson, Miscellaneous Essays on Indian Subjects, vol. ii. p. 226, ed. 1880.

contrary, been one of their principal instruments in the propagation of their systems; and among the authors of those songs, styled *dâsas*, that is, slaves of the god whom they celebrate, there have been and still are many of low caste. The *Kural* of Tiruvalluvar,¹ that admirable collection of stanzas in the Tamîl language, which is instinct with the purest and most elevated religious emotion, and the authority of which the Brahmans accept without reservation, is the work of a Pareiya.² There are legends which represent Vâlmîki, the author of the Râmâyana, as a Koli, that is to say, a member of one of the most despised aboriginal tribes on the Bombay coast. Vyâsa, the greatest name connected with the epic and sectarian poetry, the mythical author of the Mahâbhârata and the Purânas, must have been, according to the testimony of these works, himself a Brahman of extremely questionable purity,³ and similar traditions are in circulation respecting the celebrated Çaṅkara.⁴ While we would not attach undue weight to these traditions, we may be allowed to plead the fact of their persistency. If we compare them with the doctrine of a larger fraternity professed in the main by the majority of these religions, as well as with the facts that not even in our time, any more than that of the old Smritis, have these cultuses fallen entirely into the hands of the Brahmans, that certain sacerdotal functions, in the South especially, are assigned by preference to men of the people, and that the *Gurus* themselves, the spiritual chiefs, may be members of another caste (in recent times this part has even been assumed by women⁵),

¹ C. Graul, *Bibliotheca Tamulica*, vol. iii., *Der Kural des Tiruvalluvar, ein Gnomisches Gedicht über die drei Strebeziele des Menschen*, 1856; G. de Du Mast, *Maximes des Courals de Tirout-Vallouvar, or the Moral Doctrine of the Parias*, 1854.

² R. Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, Introd., p. 131, 2d ed. Tiruvalluvar signifies the saint (tiru =

Sanskrit *ṣṛī*) Valluvar. The Valluvar are the pûjâris or priests of the Parias.

³ He was the illegitimate child of a Brahman and a young girl of impure caste of the fisher class, a Dâsa-kanyâ, a slave-girl, as she is called, *Bhâgavata Pur.*, ix. 22, 20.

⁴ *Ind. Antiq.*, vii. 286.

⁵ See farther on for Mîrâ Bâi (sixteenth century), Sahajî Bâi (eight-

we shall see at once that we are here on ground obviously different from that of the old Brahmanism, and that a certain unmistakable popular element is a characteristic feature of these religions. An investigation into the character of their theology will conduct us to the same conclusion.

ninth century): more recently still female head, Hunter, Statistical
the Kartābhājs of Bengal had a Account of Bengal, vol. i. p. 74.

HINDUISM.

I. THE HINDU SECTS—THEIR GREAT DEITIES.

The common characteristic of the sectarian religions, the supremacy they assign to new divinities of popular origin, identified with Rudra-Çiva and with Vishnu.—Çaivas and Vaishnavas.—Growing importance of Rudra in the Veda: the Çatarudriya.—Çiva, Devî, and their surroundings.—Advent of Vishnu to the supremacy coincident with the first appearance of Kṛishṇa.—Vishnu and Lakshmi.—Theory of the Avatâras.—Myths and cycle of Kṛishṇa.—Myths and cycle of Râma.—Though formed of the ■■■■ materials ■ those of the ancient religion, the new divinities are of a more obstinate personality, with a marked tendency to monotheism.—Different combinations of these divinities among themselves, and with elements supplied by ancient theology and speculation: the Trinity, Brahmâ-Vishnu-Çiva.—Its theoretic and literary character.—The true objects of the sectarian theology, Vishnu and Çiva, with their feminine counterparts.—A fourth term introduced into the Trinity.—The Trinity reduced to two terms: Harihara.

THE characteristic common to the majority of these religions is the worship of new divinities exalted above all the rest, and the highly concrete and intensely personal conception of which comes out in sundry descriptions of a biographical nature. These divinities are identified either with Çiva, who is himself connected with the Vedic god Rudra, or with Vishnu; and according as it is the one or other of these which is raised to the supreme rank, the religions are called Çivaite or Vishnuite, and their respective followers styled *Çaivas* or *Vaishnavas*. The genesis of these religions is involved in extreme obscurity. The Vedic writings chance upon them, and, as it were, go alongside of them, during the very period of their

formation; but they treat them more or less ■ alien, and the details which they have preserved for us are calculated rather to stimulate our curiosity than to satisfy it.

Of the two principal divinities, *Çiva*, "the propitious," although his name hardly occurs in the Vedas, is still the one whose genesis can be most easily traced.¹ Already in the Atharva-Veda we see an increasing importance attached to the part played by Rudra, the old deity of the storm, the father of the Maruts, who is fated to be absorbed one day by *Çiva*. He is invoked as the master of life and death; and we find those aspects of his character which inspire terror and strike dread are exalted in preference to that beneficence of nature which most distinguishes him in the Hymns of the Rig. He is more frequently identified with Agni, the Fire, conceived ■ an element of destruction.² By his side appear *Bhava*, "the prosperous," and *Çarva*, "the archer," both of whom are destined to merge in the person of the new god; and *Kâla*, or "time," which produces and devours all things, and which shall also become one of the elements or "forms" of *Çiva*, is invoked as the first principle of all that exists. In the Yajur-Veda the identification of Rudra with Agni has begun to prevail. He receives the names of *Içâna*, *Içvara*, "the Lord," and *Mahâdeva*, "the great god." At the same time, we first meet with the legends that relate his birth, his triumphs over the Asuras, whose Tripura he destroys, the "triple city," viz., of earth, air, and heaven, as well as others which exhibit him breaking into the

¹ Dr. J. Muir has devoted the whole of the fourth volume of his "Sanskrit Texts" (2d ed., 1873) to the history of the two great sectarian deities. We cannot do better than refer the reader once for all to the rich collection of passages which he has collected from the Samhitâs of the Rig- and the Atharva-Veda, the Brâhmanas, the Mahâbhârata,

the Râmâyana, and the Purânas. The reader will also find collected together here the opinions of the principal scholars who have occupied themselves with this subject, Lassen and A. Weber among the chief.

■ Agni is one of the names of *Çiva*, Taitt. Samh., i. 4, 36. Compare Taitt. Ar., iii. 21.

midst of the gods and taking violent possession of the offerings made in sacrifice to them. Çiva will fall heir to all this, as well as those accounts which shall form the basis of his biography, and that kinship with the Fire which, in the Mahâbhârata even, is one of his "forms." There will remain traces, moreover, of this relationship in most of such names of his as are also names of Agni; in such names of his feminine counterpart as are names of the flames or "tongues" of Agni; in the obscure epithet *Tryambaka*,¹ "he who has three mothers," where there is perhaps a reminiscence of the triple birth of Agni; in several legends, for instance in that of Skanda, the god of war, who is at once his son and Agni's; and, in fine, in one of his principal symbols, the trident, which is an emblem of the lightning. In another of his attributes, the third eye, which he wears in the middle of his forehead, and from which there bursts forth a flame which is one day to devour the world, we recognise both the eye of the Cyclop and the vestige of an ancient affinity with the sun. Still, however imposing the part assigned to Rudra in these texts, not only does he not attain to sovereignty, he does not even rise above the ordinary level of the gods. In these different data there is nothing beyond the ordinary amount of the syncretism of the Brâhmanas; and if they supply certain elements in the character of Çiva, they are far from an adequate explanation of his being. It seems to us, on the contrary, that this explanation is suggested by another text, apparently of modern date, although it is found in all the recensions of the Yajur Veda; we refer to the *Çatarudriya*, the hymn to the hundred Rudras.²

¹ Already Rig-Veda, vii. 59, 12 (= Ath. Veda, xiv. 1, 17; Vâj. S., iii. 60; Taitt. S., i. 8, 6, 2), in a verse added afterwards, and for which there is no pada. The MSS. of the commentary of Sâyana vary in regard to this verse. Some pass it over in silence; those who explain it render *tryambaka* by "producer of the three

worlds," or by "father of the three gods, Brahmâ, Vishnu, and Rudra," or, which is the usual explanation, "by him who has three eyes." The Nirukta, xiv. 35 (*pariçishta*), and the Rigvidhâna render it simply by Rudra, Mahâdêva.

² Taitt. S., iv. 5, 1-11; Vâj. S., xvi. 1-66; Kâthaka, xvii., 11-16.

In this piece, which is one of those invocations in the form of litanies so frequent in the more recent literature, Rudra appears with all the characteristics of ■ deity of purely popular origin, in vital relation with all the aspects of the rough and troubled life which has from time immemorial distinguished India. He and his *ganās*, the "troops" under his command,¹ are invoked as protectors of the house, the fields, the herds, and the roads. He is the patron of craftsmen, of cartwrights, carpenters, smiths, potters, hunters, and watermen, and is himself ■ crafty merchant; but he is also the head of the armies, the god of the brave, of foot-soldiers, and of those who fight in chariots, of all those who live by the bow, the sword, and the spear. It is his cry which echoes in the thick of battle, and his voice which resounds in the war-drum.² Being a soldier, he is a bandit; for in the East the two are nearly the same. He is the patron of thieves, of freebooters, of brigands, of all those who go forth by night in troops and live on plunder. He is also the god of beggars and fakirs, of those who wear long and matted hair, and of those who shave the head. By himself, or by the numberless spirits at his beck, he is omnipresent, in the houses, and in the fields, in the rivers, and in the fountains, in the wind and the passing cloud, in the grass as it springs up, in the tree as it grows green, in the leaf ■ it falls. But his dwelling is especially in forests and solitary places, and he reigns over the mountains. We can conceive nothing more lifelike³ than the figure which stands out from this piece of rude realism, but nothing, at the same time, less Brahmanic. In this interminable

The piece forms also a special Upanishad. It is translated by A. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, ii. 32, and by J. Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, iv. 322.

¹ The *ganās* are themselves called Rudras. Their number is differently estimated; the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, vi. 6, 17, reckons them at tens of millions.

■ See *Atharva-Veda* v. 21. On

the coins of the Indo-Scythian kings Śiva is represented with ■ drum. Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.*, vol. ii. pp. 839, 841, 2d ed.

³ This remark applies, in general, moreover, to the character of Rudra in the *Atharva-Veda* and in the *Brāhmaṇas*. It seems that this god has here ■ body, so to speak, than the others.

array of epithets, in which we already meet with almost all the designations of Çiva, there does not occur a single expression bearing on ritual, not a single allusion to a sacred custom. This Rudra, who "manifests himself to neatherds and water-carriers," is already pretty much the Çiva whose cultus will by and by be celebrated without Brahmans, and whom his detractors will reproach with being the god of Çûdras and people of no account.¹ Doubtless he does not appear here as a sovereign divinity, but he is as one destined to become such, and we already forecast the reasons which must have determined the Brahmans to choose him from so many others in order to elevate him to this rank. They will have only to adopt him entirely, only, so to speak, to infuse their theology and their metaphysics into this rude figure, yet so real in the popular consciousness, and he will become in reality Mahâdeva, the great god.²

This adoption was *un fait accompli* several centuries before our era. In the Mahâbhârata, which, however, in its existing redaction, is conceived in the interest of Vishnuism, the cultus which we find most widely spread is that of Çiva.³ He is the Dionysos of Megasthenes, who relates that he was worshipped especially upon the mountains, the rival cultus of Hercules or Kṛishṇa being thenceforth dominant in the plain of the Ganges.⁴ He is raised far above the general run of the gods; with his followers he is the greatest of all; with everybody he is one of the greatest, who has none equal or superior to him, except

¹ Muir, Sanskrit Texts, iv. p. 377; Vasishṭha-Smṛiti, quoted by Banerjea, Nârada-Pañcarâtra, Pref., p. 5.

² The hypothesis recently revived by Wurm, Geschichte der Indischen Religion, that Çiva is a non-Aryan deity, or, to be more precise, a Dravidian, is inadmissible. All we can say is (and the same thing is true of Vishnu), that under more than one local Mahâdeva lies concealed an old aboriginal worship, but these substi-

tutions have not at all affected the general conception of the god. For some of his feminine counterparts a foreign derivation is more probable. See *infra*, p. 204.

³ Lassen, Ind. Alterthumsk., i. 922; Muir, Sanskrit Texts, iv. 283.

⁴ Megasthenes, Indica, p. 135, ed. Schwanbeck; Lassen, Ind. Alterthumsk., i. 795, 925. This interpretation of the passage from Megasthenes has been contested by A. Weber, Ind. Stud., ii. 409.

Brahmâ or Vishnu. He sits enthroned on Kailâsa, the fabulous mountain of the North, beyond Himavat, surrounded and waited on by the *Yakshas*, and a great number of spirits of different forms, who receive their orders from his adopted son, Skanda, the god of war, and the fosterchild of the Pleiades; from *Ganeça*, the "chief of the troops," the god with the elephant's head, the inspirer of cunning devices and good counsel, afterwards the patron of letters and of learned men; from *Kubera*, the god of treasures; from *Virabhadra*, "the venerable hero," the personification of fury in battle, whose cultus is widespread in the Dekhan, and who is regarded at times as a "form" of Çiva himself. His birth is variously represented, but in reality he is eternal; he is *Mahâkâla*, endless time, which begets and devours all things.¹ As procreator, his symbols are the bull and the phallus, as well as the moon, which serves for his diadem. As destroyer, he is clothed in terrible "forms;" he is armed with the trident, and wears a necklace of skulls. He is identified with *Mrityu*, "Death;"² and his old surname, *Paçupati*, "Lord of herds," acquires the ominous meaning of "Master of human cattle," perhaps that of "Master of victims," for he is, more than any other god, cruel, and exacts a bloody cultus.³ He is the chief of the *Bhûtas*, of the *Piçâcas*, of mischievous spirits, of ghouls and vampires, that frequent places of execution and those where the dead are buried, and he prowls about with them at nightfall.⁴ There is an orgiastic side to his nature: he is *Bhairava*, the god of madly frantic folly, who, clothed in the blood-stained skin of an elephant, leads the wild dance of the *tândava*.⁵ But

¹ Under this form he had a celebrated sanctuary at Ujjayinî in Mâlâra, Meghadûta, 35.

² Several of his attendants, such as Brîngin and Kâla, are represented in the form of skeletons, as, for instance, at Bâdâmi and Elurâ. Indian Antiq., vi. 359; Cave Temples, p. 433 seq., and plate lxxii.

³ Atharva-Veda, xi. 2, 9; Açvâlâyana Gr. S., iv. 8; Pâraskara Gr. S., iii. 8; Mahâbhârata, in Muir's Sanskrit Texts, iv. 284, 288.

⁴ Bhâgavata Pur., iii. 14, 22 seq.

⁵ See Meghadûta, 37. Câmundâ, of the terrible forms of Devî, is depicted also in the 5th act of Mâlâtî-Mâdhava.

he is also *par excellence* the god of asceticism and austerities. He is the chief of the Yogins ; like them, he goes naked, his body smutty with ashes, his long hair plaited and gathered up in a knot on the crown of his head. The legends are full of his appalling mortifications, and they relate how, with a single glance of his Cyclop eye, he reduced to ashes *Kâma*, Cupid, who had dared to bring trouble into his breast. By his side sits enthroned *Umad*, "the gracious," the daughter of Himavat, whom we meet with already in some Vedic passages as the wife of Rudra, while *Ambikâ*, "the good mother," who is now identified with her, is found there only as the sister of the god. Like her husband, of whom she is the exact counterpart, she has many names and assumes many "forms." She is worshipped as *Devî*, "the goddess," *Pârvatî*, "the daughter of the mountains," *Durgâ*, "the inaccessible," *Gaurî*, "the bright one," *Satî*, "the devoted wife," *Bhairavî*, "the terror-inspiring," *Kâlî*, "the black one," *Karâlâ*, "the horrible one," and under no end of other designations, which express her twofold nature as goddess of life and goddess of death.

If the Vedic literature supplies certain data from which we are able to frame some idea of the way in which the character of Çiva was formed, and to infer the probable coexistence therewith of his cultus as a popular religion, it has, on the other hand, preserved for us no similar intimations in regard to his rival, the sectarian *Vishnu*. Vishnu, the ancient personification of the sun, is, it is true, already in the Hymns a deity of the first rank, and in several passages we find him invested with a species of sovereignty ; but that is a distinction which he shares in common with other deities, and which even the later writings appear very rarely to remember. When the sun is invoked as supreme god, it is by other designations in preference, under that of Savitri, for instance ; in the Atharva-Veda, under that of Rohita, "the red,"¹ while at a later date the

¹ xiii. 1.

adherents of the strictly solar religious systems will worship him under those of Sûrya and Aditya. Neither in the numerous legends collected in the Brâhmanas, and which have preserved so many characteristic traits connected with the fate of the gods, do we find that Vishnu is preparing to undergo transformation or assume a more imposing rôle. These legends relate with greater fulness of detail the old myth which represents him as traversing or conquering the three worlds in three strides;¹ they represent him as the personification of sacrifice, and in this regard they speak of his violent death,² a feature which accords well with a solar divinity,³ and which occurs again in the final catastrophe that befalls Kṛishṇa. But they know nothing of the theory of the Avatâras, and in none of these accounts, any more than in the liturgy or the ritual (of course exceptive here of compilations so recent as the last book of the "Taittirîya Aranyaka"), there is not the least trace of even a first step on the part of Vishnu to the supreme rank. In the epic poetry, on the contrary, in the Mahâbhârata, Vishnu is in full possession of this honour. But, at the same time, there comes into view a hero, a man-god, Kṛishṇa, who is declared to be an incarnation of his divine essence; and this figure, which is absolutely unknown to the Veda, is, beyond all doubt, a popular divinity. From this we think we must conclude that there is a connection between the attainment of supremacy by Vishnu and his identification with Kṛishṇa; and we are led to ask the question whether Kṛishṇa was likened to Vishnu because the latter had come to occupy the first rank, or whether the supremacy of the Brahmanic god was not rather the result of his fusion with the popular god? Of these two hypotheses, the latter appears to me

¹ For a quite peculiar form of this myth see Çatap. Br., i. 2, 5, 1-7.

² T. Muir, Sanskrit Texts, i.v. p. 122 seq.

³ Allusion is often made to the

death of the sun; see, for example, Taitt. S., i. 5, 9, 4; i. 5, 4, 4. Yama, the first who deceased, is a solar character.

to be the most probable.¹ We have already seen that the Veda does not lead ■ to anticipate the supremacy of Vishṇu. Neither does it appear to us to be very ancient in the Mahâbhârata, which, in general, is concerned with Vishṇu only in so far as it is with Kṛishṇa. Here the most widely spread cultus is in the main that of Çiva, and even in those episodes of this essentially eclectic poem which have been least remodelled, the supreme figure is

¹ We are here obviously departing from the ■■■■■ opinion which inclines to the notion of ■ slow indeed, and chronologically determinable development in the deification of Kṛishṇa, and we may say the same for Râma. This view is usually made to rest on the parts of the Mahâbhârata and the Râmâyana, where Kṛishṇa and Râma are still represented as simple heroes, where they are not yet identified with the supreme being. In our opinion these words "still" and "yet" are made too much of. Not only in their supplementary parts, but in the whole of the existing redaction, the two poems belong to the epoch of the full development of the theory of the Avatâras, and their heroes ■ at once truly men and truly gods. For the contrary view, see especially Weber, *Kṛishṇajanmâshtamî*, p. 316; *Die Râma-tâpanîya Upanishad*, p. 275; Ueber das Râmâyana, at the beginning. Neither can we attach ■ much weight as is usually done to the absence of all reference to Kṛishṇa, which Bur-nouf ■ the first to point out (*Introd. à l'Hist. du Bouddh. Ind.*, p. 136), in what he conceived to be the most ancient part of the Buddhist writings. That is ■ mode of arguing which, considering the time it took to fix the Buddhist canon, is very apt to carry us ■ little too far. On this principle we must also regard the divinity of Kṛishṇa ■ of later date than the text we have of Manu (not to mention other books of the kind), which yet is acquainted with both the Greek and the Chinese.

Kṛishṇa often appears in the developed Sûtras of the North, and has even already undergone in them quite peculiar transformations. In the Lalitavistara he is mentioned once among the number of the greatest deities (pp. 148, 149 of the edition of the Bibl. Ind.); but usually he is the chief of the black demons; and Mâra, the great enemy of Buddha and his mission, is called the ally of Kṛishṇa (*ibid.*, pp. 175, 376, 379, &c.). All these passages, the last of which implies ■ declared hostility to Krishnaism, are met with in Gâ-thâs, texts the authority of which recent researches tend to re-establish. After all the affinities pointed out in Senart's work, "*La Légende du Buddha*," it appears to us, on the other hand, that Buddhism is itself the evidence of the ancient, quite mythical, and divine origin of the legend of Kṛishṇa. The Jains, as is their wont, have worked up a whole system on that basis. With them Kṛishṇa is the ninth of the black Vāsudevas, who, with the nine white Balas, the nine Vishṇu-dvish, or enemies of Vishṇu, the twelve Cakravartins, ■ universal monarchs, and the twenty-four Arhats, form their sixty-three Çalâkapurushas: Hemacandra, *Abhidhânacintâmanî*, ed. Boehtlingk and Rieu, p. 128. There are, ■ regards Kṛishṇa, however, traces of several different attempts to introduce him into the Brahmanic pantheon, especially those which make him proceed from ■ hair of Vishṇu, or which identify him and Arjuna with Nara and Nârâyana.

not yet either Çiva or Vishṇu, but Indra, the ancient god of the heavens. It seems, then, that there is but little scope left for the development of ■ purely Vishnuite religion, the less that the cultus of Kṛishṇa appears to go back to a pretty remote date. "Kṛishṇa, the son of Devakî," is mentioned once at least in a Vedic writing, which represents him purely and simply as the disciple of ■ sage,¹ and this absolutely Euhemerist representation appears already to be less original than that which we see in the epic. From the date of the second century before our era, the story of Kṛishṇa was the subject of dramatic representations similar to those connected with the festivals in honour of Bacchus and our ancient mysteries.² Besides, there is good ground for regarding this personage as the Indian Hercules, the worship of whom Megasthenes found prevailing in the valley of the Ganges at the beginning of the third century before Christ. If these conjectures are well grounded, the two great sectarian divinities must have originated in nearly the same way. According to these, the religion of Vishṇu must be the more recent, but, like that of his rival, it must be the result of the adoption by the Brahmans, and the fusion with one of their old deities, of some popular gods; in the particular case of Kṛishṇa, of a hero who was probably at first the *kuladevatâ*, the ethnic god, of some powerful confederation of Rājput clans.³

Once elevated to the supreme rank, Vishṇu becomes more and more estranged from his ancient solar character, ■ reminiscence of which survives only in certain symbols, such as the *discus*, the *cakra*, which is his weapon of war, and the bird *Garuḍa*, which serves him as a steed, and remains the object of a cultus.⁴ He sits enthroned in Vaikunṭha, his paradise, along with his wife Çrî or *Lakshmî*, the goddess

¹ Chândogya Up., iii. 17, 6.

Ind. Alterthumsk., t. i. 925, t. ii.

² Mahābhāshya, in Ind. Stud., xiii. 353.

441.

³ Lassen, we believe, was the first to suggest this popular origin of the worship-systems of Çiva and Vishṇu.

■ For the myth of Garuḍa, an amplification of the old figure of the solar bird, ■ Mahābhārata, i. 1239-1545.

of beauty, pleasure, and victory. Retiring gradually to ■ mysterious distance, he assumes the functions which formerly belonged to Brahmâ; he is identified with Hiran-yagarbha, especially with Nârâyana, the oldest of all beings, who, carried on the coils of *Çesha* or *Ananta*, the serpent "without end," the symbol of eternity, appeared at the beginning of things floating above the primordial waters. According as he sits awake, or sinks back into mystic slumber, he gives birth to creation or draws it back again into himself; and it is from his navel that the lotus of gold springs, whence issue Brahmâ and the demi-urgic gods. But it is not so much by himself that he interposes in the affairs of the world and receives the homage of men, as by means of his incarnations. These are very numerous; for Kṛishṇa, which is probably the most ancient of them, is not the only figure under which he manifests himself in this lower world. "Every time," as he says in the Bhagavad Gîtâ, "that religion is in danger and that iniquity triumphs, I issue forth. For the defence of the good and the suppression of the wicked, for the establishment of justice, I manifest myself from age to age."¹ This is the theory of the *Avatâras*, or the "Descents," which is not only a characteristic of Vishnuism, but which indicates a new and distinctly defined phase in the religious development of India. In fact, by permitting the worship of the deity under a series of hypostases no longer abstract, such as those which the ancient theology had conceived, but such as were highly concrete, highly personal, and, what is better still, human, they resolved in a new manner the old problem, so often attempted, of reconciling aspirations after a certain monotheism with an irresistible tendency to multiply forms of worship. In ■ way which surpasses the clumsy device of divine genealogies, or the conception of different "forms" of the same god, which still prevails in the Çivaite religions, it responded by its elasticity and its affection for mystery to all the instincts

¹ iv. 7, 8.

of this people, who are at once so sensual, so superstitious, and so speculative, with an equal appetite for subtle theosophy and coarse exhibitions, and who have never been able either to rest satisfied with faith in one god or to reconcile themselves to the worship of many. An Avatâra, in the highest and fullest sense of the word (for all Avatâras have not this meaning), is not a transitory manifestation of the deity, still less the procreation, by the connection of a god with a mortal, of ■ being in some sense intermediate; it is the presence, at once mystic and real, of the supreme being in a human individual, who is both truly god and truly man, and this intimate union of the two natures is conceived of as surviving the death of the individual in whom it was realised. In short, it is a mystery, to the contemplation of which minds speculatively endowed will be able to devote themselves at their leisure, while the vulgar will be content to find here such cheap gratification to their religious instincts as anthropomorphism, or even zoomorphism, combined with the grossest idolatry, may afford. Of these Avatâras there is one only which is founded on a myth originally proper to Vishnu, that of the Brahman Nain, who recovered for the gods the three worlds usurped by the Asuras, by persuading their chief to grant him the space traversed by three of his steps, and who, in his three celebrated strides, immediately went bounding away over earth, heaven, and hell. The rest are of diverse origin. Alongside of Vedic legends, but which in the Veda (as elsewhere) are referred to other gods, especially to Prajâpati, those, for instance, of the tortoise, which supports the earth, of the boar, which draws it from under the waters, of the fish, which guides the ark in which Manu escapes the deluge,¹ there are others the development of which belongs more particularly to the epic poetry and the

¹ The Vedic legend of the Deluge according to Çatapatha-Brâhmaṇa, has been published and commented

on for the first time by A. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, i. 161.

sectarian Upanishads, such ■ the legend of *Nṛsiṃha*, the "Man-lion," a form under which Vishṇu tears in pieces ■ demon-despiser of the gods, or that of *Paraçurāma*, that is, "Rāma with the hatchet," a terrible Brahman of the race of Bhrigu, who in three-times-seven assaults exterminated the impious race of the Kshatriyas. Thus this theory supplied a convenient framework for connecting with Vishṇu a good part of the ancient fable, and into which even there were introduced at a later period ■ great number of figures more or less historic. It is thus that a way was opened to Buddha, in whose person the Lord appeared in this lower world to consummate the ruin of the wicked by seducing them with false doctrines.¹ It is thus too that the hope of a national revenge received its expression in *Kalkin*, an avenger who was one day to put an end to the domination of the Mlecchas, the barbarians, and that the majority of the *Gurus*, or founders of sects, were either after or even during their lifetime regarded by the faithful as Avatāras of the Most High. Thus the number of these "Descents" is differently stated;² they are reckoned at 10, 12, 22, 24, 28, and soon they are declared to exceed all reckoning.³ Reduced thus to a system, these successive manifestations of restorers of the law present an unquestionable analogy with the succession of the different Buddhas. They are distinguished into complete incarnations, in which the deity is entirely present, and into partial incarnations (*aṃṣavatāras*), in which appears only a part of his being. Çrī usually "descends" at the same time as her husband, and incarnates herself in female form. In fine, from Vishṇu this power passed to other gods, and there are few figures in the pantheon of whom we are not able to affirm some

¹ Agni Pur., xvi. 1-5; Bhāgavata Pur., i. 3, 24; Gitagovinda, i. 13. In the Vishṇu Pur., iii. ch. xvii. and xviii., it is the Jainas, perhaps, that are referred to. Kapila, the author of the Sāṅkhya system, is ■ incarnation of Vishṇu as well, in the

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, i. 3, 10; iii. 24.

² Mahābhārata, xii. 341, 12941; Bhāgavata Pur., i. 3, 5-26; Agni Pur., i-xvi.; Gitagovinda, i. 5-17; the official number is 10.

³ Bhāgavata Pur., i. 3, 26; Agni Pur., xvi. 12.

such manifestation.¹ From these indications alone, it is already obvious that many of these Avatâras are more connected with the mythology than the religious history. Some appear to be simply poetic fables, although it is somewhat difficult to make allowance for this distinction at this distance of time.² Others are pious legends, in which we recognise at times the echo of some local cultus, and which have contributed to nourish some special devotions, but do not seem to have finally assumed the shape of distinct religions. But it is otherwise with the Avatâras of *Kṛishṇa* and of *Râma*, which, with accessory figures, compose two vast cycles, in which Vishnuism found its true divinities.

Considered in his physical derivation, *Kṛishṇa* is a figure of complex quality, in which there mingle at length myths of fire, lightning, and storm, and, in spite of his name (*Kṛishṇa* signifying the "black one"), of heaven and the sun. By a singular coincidence, which we can only indicate here, but which sheds a curious light on the quasi-fermentation process which appears to have taken place among the religious elements at work in India, several centuries before our era we meet with the majority of these myths again, often accompanied with a striking similarity of detail, in the legendary biography of Buddha.³ As a character in the epic, on the contrary, and as he is accepted by Vishnuism, *Kṛishṇa* is a warlike prince, a hero, equally invincible in war and love, very brave, but above all very crafty, and of a singularly doubtful moral character, like all the figures, however, which retain in a marked way the mythic impress. The son of *Vasudeva* and *Devakî*, under which we recognise concealed the ancient pair, the celestial man and the Apsaras,⁴ he was born at Mathurâ, on the Yamunâ

¹ See the *Mahâbhârata*, i. 2638-2756, where all the heroes of the poem are represented as incarnations of gods or demons.

² In the *Mahâbhârata*, for example, and also in Pânini (iv. 3, 98), there are indications of an ancient worship of Arjuna quite analogous to that of *Kṛishṇa*.

³ These relations are fully illustrated in the learned work of E. Senart, *La Légende du Buddha, Caractère et ses Origines*, 1873-1875.

⁴ *Vasudeva* appears to be synonymous with the simple *Vasu*, which is an old name for the celestial genii, "the bright ones," and *Devakî*, which signifies at once "the divine

between Delhi and Agra, among the race of the Yâdavas, a name which we meet with again at a later period in history as that of a powerful Râjput tribe. Like those of many solar heroes, his first appearances were beset with perils and obstructions of every kind. On the very night of his birth his parents had to remove him to a distance beyond the reach of his uncle, King Kamsa, who sought his life, because he had been warned by a voice from heaven that the eighth son of Devakî would put him to death, and who consequently had his nephews the princes regularly made away with as soon as they saw the light. In the Veda, the sun, in the form of Mârtâṇḍa, is the eighth son born of Aditi, and his mother casts him off, just as Devakî, who is at times represented as an incarnation of Aditi, removes Kṛishṇa. Conveyed to the opposite shore of the Yamunâ, and put under the care of the shepherd *Nanda* and his wife *Yaçodâ*, he was brought up ■ their son in the woods of Vṛindâvana, with his brother, *Balarâma*, "Râma the strong," who had been saved as he was from massacre. The latter, who has for his mother at one time Devakî herself, at another time another wife of Vasudeva, *Rohiṇî*, "the red" (a mythical name also applied now to Aurora, now to a star), and who is reputed to be an Avatâra of Çesha or Ananta, the serpent without end, which serves as a bed to Vishṇu, appears to be an ancient agricultural deity, that presided over the tillage of the soil and the harvest. He is armed with a ploughshare, whence his surname, *Halabhrîṭ*, "the plough-bearer," and his distinctive characteristic is an ungovernable passion for bacchanalian revels, inebriation, and sensual love. The two brothers grew up in the midst of the shepherds, slaying monsters and demons bent on their destruction,

one" and "the gambler," recalls the nymph of the waters, the woman-cloud, deceiving and many-formed, *Viçvarûpâ*, who in the Veda is the wife of Vivasvat. A. Weber ■ the first, we believe, to point out the

etymological play which there is in the name Devakî: Kṛishṇajanmâsh-tamî, p. 316. See Senart, *op. cit.*, in the Journ. Asiat., 1874, t. iii. p. 374 seq., 421 seq.

and sporting with the Gopîs, the female cowherds of Vrindâvana. These scenes of their birth and infancy, these juvenile exploits, these erotic gambols with the Gopîs, this entire idyll of Vrindâvana, which recalls the myths of the youth of Indra and Agni, became in course of time the essential portion of the legend of Kṛishṇa, just as the places which were the scene of them remain to the present time the most celebrated centres of his worship. Arrived at adolescence, the two brothers put to death Kamsa, their persecutor, and Kṛishṇa became king of the Yâdavas. He continued to clear the land of monsters, waged successful wars against impious kings, and took a determined side in the great struggle of the sons of Pându against those of Dhṛitarâshṭra, which forms the subject of the Mahâbhârata. In the interval he had transferred the seat of his dominion to the fabulous city of *Dvârakâ*, "the city of gates," the gates of the West, built on the bosom of the Western sea, and the site of which has been since localised in the peninsula of Gujarât. It was there that he was overtaken, himself and his race, by the final catastrophe. After having been present at the death of his brother, and seen the Yâdavas, in fierce struggle, kill one another to the last man, he himself perished, wounded in the heel, like Achilles, by the arrow of a hunter. Notwithstanding the amiable character with which the Muse has delighted to invest Kṛishṇa (and Vishnuism, in contrast with Çivaism, shows a disposition in general to magnify this feature), there is, accordingly, something sad, and even cruel, at the basis of his legend. It is in a smiling mood that he presides over all these acts of destruction, that he sees the end of his people approaching, and that he prepares for it, for it is for this he came; and it was to relieve the earth of the burden of a proud race, become too numerous, that he was incarnated in the womb of Devakî. Though less fierce than Çiva, Vishṇu is nevertheless, on one side of his character, an inexorable god; he, too is that Time which devours everything.

This brief analysis of the legend of Kṛishṇa can give no idea of the astonishing fulness of the myths which have contributed to its formation. There is here, as there is indeed in the epic poetry in general, a prodigious after-crop of fable, which, though preserved in memorials of comparatively modern redaction, is nevertheless for most part very ancient, and the body of which, taken as a whole, shows at any rate how far the ancient Brahmanism is from having transmitted to us completely the mass of old beliefs and traditions peculiar to India. Thus we have been obliged to pass by without mention the numerous figures which form the pantheon peculiar to Krishnaism, and which have almost been identified, on the one hand, with Brahmanical divinities, of which they are conceived to be incarnations, and, on the other hand, with the abstract conceptions of speculation. In this way the whole fable of the Mahābhārata has been, so to speak, absorbed by Vishnuism, and the cultus of the five sons of Pāṇḍu, which we meet with to-day ■ far as the extreme South, has become a sort of appendage to the worship of Kṛishṇa. Of his innumerable wives¹ we shall mention only *Rukmiṇī*, the Avatāra pre-eminently of Çrī, and mother of *Pradyumna*, "the shining one," himself the incarnation of *Kāma*, the god of love, whose worship, spread very widely in the Middle Age,² was thus connected with Vishnuism, just as those of Skanda, the god of war, and Gaṇeṣa, the patron of letters, were more specially connected with the Çivaite religions.

The cycle connected with Rāma is more limited than the one we have just analysed. It has been preserved for us chiefly in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which is a more homogeneous

■ 16,000 in round numbers. Agni Pur., xii. 31.

² The Bhavishyottara Purāṇa devotes at least three chapters (chaps. 75, 79, 120) to his worship: Aufrecht, Oxford Catalogue, pp. 34, 35. His festival, which was also that of Vasanta, the spring, is one of the

favourite themes of dramatic poetry: Çakuntala, act vi.; Mālatī-Mādhava, act i.; Ratnāvalī, act i. In the Matsya Purāṇa, where it is also described, Kāma is identified with Kṛishṇa himself. Aufrecht, Catalogue, p. 39.

work, and more artistically conceived than the Mahâbhârata, and the origin of which is much less ancient. Although classed in the fabulous history of India in ■ epoch more remote than Kṛishṇa, Râma appears to be ■ more recent figure, at least as an Avâtara of Vishṇu. His mythical import is much more indistinct, and his special cultus, which is known to us only through sectarian Upanishads and works belonging, beyond a doubt, to modern literature, appears not only to have developed later, but to have been less widely diffused. The Mahâbhârata has devoted a long episode to the legend about him :¹ he is the hero of more than one celebrated poem, but he did not obtain the 'honour of a Purâṇa² to himself ; and even in our day, although the devotion to Râma is pretty general, the number of those who worship him in preference to any other god is comparatively small.

Like Kṛishṇa, Râma is a hero, an exterminator of monsters, a victorious warrior. But idealised by the poetry of a more fastidious age, and one less affected by the myth, he is at the same time, what we cannot maintain in regard to the enigmatic figure of the son of Devakî, the finished type of submission to duty, nobility of moral character, and of chivalric generosity. Though the eldest son and heir of Daçaratha, king of Ayodhyâ, *i.e.*, modern Oude, he declines the throne out of respect for an imprudent promise which his father made to his stepmother, and he submits to voluntary exile for fourteen years in the depths of the woods. He is followed thither by one of his brothers, *Lakshmana*, who is, like himself, an incarnation of Vishṇu, and has a share in the cultus paid him, just as Balarâma has in that of Kṛishṇa, and also by his wife *Sîtâ*, the daughter of Janaka, king of Mithilâ, who had been born from a furrow traced round the altar. In this last trait we recognise the Sitâ, the "furrow," already deified in the Hymns, and the goddess of the same name, wife of Indra,

¹ Mahâbhârata, iii. 15872-16602. specially developed in the Padma

² The legend respecting him is in Purâṇa. Aufrecht Catalogue p. 62

who in the domestic ritual is invoked at the time of tillage and seed-sowing.¹ Perhaps there is here the indication of an original identity of the son of Daçaratha with Râma Halabhrit, or "the plough-bearer," belonging to the cycle of Kṛishṇa. In a legend of the Black Yajus, Sîtâ, daughter of Savitṛi, is united in love with Soma. Now Soma, the king of the plants and the god of fecundity, was identified from that day with the Moon, and the reminiscence of a connection between the Daçarathide and the Moon appears to have been exactly preserved in the name *Râmacandra*, "Râma-Lunus," by which he is at times distinguished from his namesakes. These are very weak indications; if we ventured to follow them, they would lead, as respects our hero, to an agricultural deity, to a lunar god presiding over the labours of the field and dispensing joy and abundance. This derivation would agree well both with the name Râma, which signifies the Joy-bringer, and with the description which is given of his reign as a sort of golden age.² But, with this single exception, nothing else of those peaceful promising beginnings has remained in the part enacted by the son of Daçaratha, whose vicissitudes rather remind us of those that befall the solar deities. Sîtâ, moreover, has retained of her rustic nature only the name, or the legend that refers to her birth. In the Vishnuite religions she is the Avatâra of Çrî, and the ideal type of the wife.—The exiles have taken the road to the great forests of the South. Here Sîtâ is borne away by the king of the demons, *Râvana*, who carries her off beyond the seas to Laṅkâ, the island of Ceylon. Râma recovers trace of her ravisher. He forms an alliance with Sugrîva, the king of the monkeys, the inhabitants of those solitudes, and distinguished among whom is *Hanumat*, "with the strong jaws," the son of the Wind, the god-monkey, whose cultus is to this day one of the

¹ Rig-Veda, iv. 57, 6, 7; Pârask. Gr. Ś., ii. 17; Kauçikasûtra, in A. Weber's *Zwei Vedische Texte über Omina und Portenta*, p. 368.

² For these relations see especially A. Weber, *Die Râma-tâpanîya Upanishad*, p. 275.

most widely spread in India. At the head of a countless host of *quadrumanæ* the *Van* of Daçaratha invades Lañkâ, after having constructed a dyke, the ruins of which are still to be seen in the long chain of reefs which seem to connect Ceylon with the neighbouring continent. Lañkâ is taken, Râvana slain, and Sîtâ restored to her husband, who returns with her to reign in Ayodhyâ. After long years, during which the world enjoyed unparalleled felicity, Râma is separated anew from her, but this time by an act of his own will, because he yields to unjust suspicions. This second separation is, according to a proceeding familiar to the myths, at bottom only a repetition of the first. It is terminated by a final reconciliation, after which Sîtâ returns to the bosom of the earth, from which she had come forth long before. Before disappearing she restores to Râma his two sons, that they might continue the line of solar kings in Ayodhyâ.

We shall not proceed farther with this list of materials which have been at the service of the neo-Brahmanic religions. Even a summary examination is enough to show how little these materials differ at bottom from those which we see were made use of in the most ancient documents. Here, as there, we are in the presence of divine personalities, which are resolvable into myths of Nature-worship, and these myths, in their turn, resolve into the same physical phenomena. We have indicated, by way of example, only a small number of these relations; others will come to light, perhaps, of themselves in our exposition; to specify them all would be an endless task. But if India has thus resumed in these religions the work of its remotest past, it has this time arrived at very different results. The divinities of ancient Brahmanism remained undisguisedly mythical. The piety of the Vedas always shrinks from too concrete representations, and behind its gods it never ceased to recognise the natural forces of which they were the expression. Thus under the first efforts of reflection these gods, of themselves it were, dissolve in pantheism.

The new types, on the contrary, although formed of the same elements, are of a less pliant personality. They were not adopted by the theology of the learned till after they had undergone transformation in the epic, and had taken on distinctly defined features, of which the most mystic devotion will never be able to divest them completely. Even Çiva, who has retained more of the antique, and to whom the amalgam, so to speak, of his different *forms* has imparted something of a vague and monstrous nature, is nevertheless a god with a biography; we know his habits, his favourite seats, and the exact spot where he performed such and such a feat; and in several respects his personality is not much more indistinct than that of the Zeus of Homer. As regards the principal incarnations of Vishnu, in them the anthropomorphism is perfect; they are figures quite as distinctly defined as Hercules or Theseus. Thus the tendency of these divinities is not, like that of the ancient ones, towards a pantheism more or less physical or abstract—although speculation, in appropriating them, must reduce them to its pantheistic formulæ—but always towards a certain personal monotheism, or, if we prefer to say so, towards an organised polytheism under a supreme god, and which will approach monotheism in different degrees, and at times near enough to be confounded with it.

Of the different combinations to which speculation was thus led, there is one that is connected more closely than the rest with the prior conceptions of Brahmanism: it is that of the Hindu *Trinity*, in which Çiva and Vishnu are associated with Brahmâ in a way to form along with him the threefold impersonation of the supreme Brahman. This constitutes, in some degree, a solution midway between the ancient orthodoxy in its final form and the new religions; it is at the same time the most considerable attempt which has been made to reconcile these religions to one another. That is to say, in our regard it does not seek to show a first stepping-stone, as it were, towards the

sectarian beliefs, the existence of which, on the contrary, it presupposes; it is simply ■ eclectic explanation of these beliefs made from the point of view of Brahmanism.

- And, in point of fact, the Trinity, in which Creuzer thought he had discovered the primitive dogma of India,¹ has not, up to the present time, been pointed out in any writing which can be accepted as of date anterior to the development of the sectarian systems of worship.² The idea, it is true, of associating the gods in groups of three is very ancient in India. Examples of it occur as early as the Hymns.³ At a later date, we often find in the Brâhmaṇas the idea expressed, that there are in reality only three gods, Agni, Vâyu, and Sûrya,⁴ that is to say, a divinity for the earth, fire; another for the atmosphere, the wind; and ■ third for the heavens, the sun; and the old scholiast Yâska, who reproduces this division, completes it by a curious distribution of the principal figures in the panthéon into one or other of these three categories.⁵ It is probable that the dogma of the sectarian Trinity found a point of support in this ancient triad, as well as in some other old ternary conceptions; but it differs from these too much to be directly derived from them. Here, in fact, the point is not, ■ formerly, a cosmographic distribution of the deified forces of nature, but ■ threefold evolution of the divine unity. The Brahman, the Absolute, manifests himself in three

¹ *Symbolik*, t. i. p. 568, 2d ed.

² The *Maitry Upanishad*, in which we meet with it distinctly formulated (v. 2), is ■ work interpolated to such a degree that we must reject it as modern, although we find it engrossed in ■ Brâhmaṇa. There is still less reason to attach any weight to such testimonies ■ that of Amṛitavindu Up., 2, or those of Nṛsiṃha Up., collected in *Ind. Stud.*, ix. 57.

³ *Rig-Veda*, i. 23, 6, 7; 24, 41; vii. 62, 3; viii. 18, 9; x. 124, 4, 126; 158, 1; 185. Compare the *tisro devîh*, the three goddesses, i. 12, 9; 104, 8;

ii. 35, 5; iii. 4, 8; ix. 5, 8; x. 70, 8; 110, 8. Agni himself composes ■ triad.

⁴ *Taitt. Samh.*, vi. 6, 8, ■ = Çatap. Br., iv. 5, 4; *Taitt. Ar.*, i. 21, 1; *Bṛihaddevatâ* in *Ind. Stud.*, i. 113. For other references to the Çatap. Br., see Weber, *Zwei vedische Texte*, p. 386.

⁵ *Nirukta*, vii. 5; 8-11. The arrangement of the Hymns in several books of the *Rig-Veda*, and also that of *Naighantuka* 5, are made on the ■ principle. Compare also *Ait. Br.* i. 1, 1.

persons, Brahmâ, the creator; Vishnu, the preserver; and Çiva, the destroyer. It is in them that he becomes capable of action, and that he partakes of the three "qualities" of goodness, passion, and darkness, subtle principles that pervade everything, and in which the ancient Sâṅkhya philosophy sums up the energies of Nature. Each of these persons is represented by one of the three letters, *a, u, m*, the combination of which forms the sacro-sanct syllable *om*, the symbol of the Absolute. As a theological commonplace, the dogma of the Trinity has passed into all the sectarian literatures, but the significance of it as a religious belief has been much exaggerated. In its comparatively orthodox form especially, in which Brahmâ is regarded as the first of three equal persons, it appears never to have been very popular. Yet we find figured representations of this triad which are of pretty high antiquity;¹ and as India is pre-eminently the country where nothing is lost, we see ■ late ■ the fifteenth century a king of Vidyânagara in Mysore dedicating a temple to it.²

But usually, when the sectarian writers accept the notion of the triad, they interpret it in a manner more conformable to their own respective predilections. One of the persons, either Çiva or Vishnu, is immediately identified with the supreme being, and the other two, Brahmâ especially, are reduced to act a subordinate part. This subordination is, of course, susceptible of various grades, and it is not unfrequently seen to change in the course of one and the same writing. But, in general, considerable stress is laid on it; sometimes even it is expressed in terms which imply a very marked grudge at the members thus sacrificed, and a real condemnation of their

¹ Among others, at Elephanta and at Elurâ. See this last as given by Burgess in *Cave-Temples*, pl. lxxv. fig. 2. Fergusson thinks these images belong to the eighth century. *Ibid.*, p. 467.

² Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.*, t. iv.

p. 181. See, *Ind. Antiq.*, viii. 22, 23, the analysis of another inscription of the Dekhan (at the commencement of the twelfth century), containing a donation to ■ sanctuary of the god Traipurusha ("the threefold person") and his wife Sarasvatî.

cultus. Thus the triad is, with most of the sects, only a formula, nearly without any meaning. Brahmâ figures in it only to make up a number; and there is no real change of view involved, either when, renouncing the ternary combination, they sometimes leave him entirely out of account, or when they add a fourth person to the other three, as in the *Brahmavaivarta Purâṇa*, in which Kṛishṇa is superadded to the Brahmâ- Vishṇu- and Śiva-Trinity.¹ In reality, there are present only Vishṇu and Śiva, or, more exactly, if we should probe the sectarian consciousness, only the "incarnations" of the former and the "forms" of the latter, comprehending in both cases the manifestations of their respective feminine counterparts. These are the real elements of the sectarian theology, the two poles, as it were, between which it moves. Usually it pronounces, if not with clearness, then with passionate emphasis enough, between the two rivals; on one side the god, on the other at most his lieutenant, who is almost always the first of his devotees. In the most pronounced forms of the religion of Vishṇu, who is still in the main the more accommodating of the two, Śiva is only the *gurur gurûṇām*, the doctor of the doctors, a sort of super-human prophet of Bhagavat, of Vishṇu the Most High.² The god who is found reduced in this way to the character of satellite does not therefore cease to be glorified, but his majesty is borrowed, and it is understood that the homage which is paid to him goes in the end to him who is above him. Viewed thus, in the extreme expressions of them, the neo-Brahmanic religions form two groups clearly opposed and even inimical to one another; but in practice this opposition is almost always softened down by compromises. The jealous ardour with which the militant

¹ H. H. Wilson, *Select Works*, vol. iii. p. 99. In the Nṛsiṃha Upanishad, in like manner, all the three persons of the Trinity are subordinated to Nṛsiṃha. All the sects at bottom do the same; their fourth term (the *turiya*) is still a person,

and they no sooner assert the Absolute than they limit it by the most concrete forms.

² This is the character he maintains, for instance, in the Nârada Pañcarâtra, i. 9, 31, 38-42, 46, &c.

portion of the sects ordinarily maintain the exclusive title of their god to supremacy and adoration, and which has been expressed more than once in violent conflicts,¹ is seldom shared in by the mass of the people. As a general rule, a Hindu pays homage to a favourite deity, most frequently one of the forms of Vishṇu, Śiva, or Devî, in the *mantra*, or mystic formula of invocation (which he must keep secret), of which he has been initiated by a *guru*, a divinity to whom he applies in his extreme need, whom he will invoke at the moment of death, and in whom he hopes for his salvation. But with this leading devotion he is always ready to connect an indefinite number of others, no matter of what origin. It may be that this devotion of his choice has come of itself to be superinduced in his case on some local superstition, or the hereditary cultus of a *kuladevatâ*, a family god belonging perhaps to a quite different religious cycle; and if he has any tincture of philosophy at all, he will find the means besides of combining with all this a considerable dash of abstract unitarian mysticism. It is thus that among the Câlukyas, who have ruled in the Dekhan from the fifth to the twelfth century, and who had Vishṇu for *kuladevatâ*, some at least professed Śivaism,² and that the majority of the others show in their inscriptions a great zeal for the cultus of Skanda and his mothers, who belong to the Śivaite pantheon. This eclecticism, which is in some respect peculiar to the individual, very slightly dogmatic, and in no case conventional, like that which appears in the literature, was singularly fostered besides by the speculative mysticism, the vague notions of which had percolated slowly through all the layers of society. An adept in the Vedânta or the Yoga was not obliged to subordinate

¹ See the outrage perpetrated in 1873 by three Śivaite devotees on the Vishṇu of Pandharpur, Ind. Antiq., ii. 272; iv. 22. In 1640, at Hurdwar, a celebrated resort for pilgrims — the Upper Ganges, Śivaite and

Vishnuite Sannyâsins, fought a bloody battle. Dâbistân, ii. 19, translated by Shea and Troyer.

² See Vikramânkacarita, iv. 58, ed. Bühler.

Vishṇu to Śiva or Śiva to Vishṇu; he could, if he chose, see the only Being in both. "One god, Śiva or Vishṇu!" exclaims Bhartṛihari, who ■■■ a Śivaite, in one of his stanzas.¹ Another Śivaite, Abhinavagupta, has commented on the Bhagavad Gītā,² which is in a way the gospel of Kṛishṇa. Śaṅkara, who appears to have inclined rather to Vishnuism, is claimed alike by the Śaivas and Vaishṇavas; and even in our day the Smārta Brahmans ("orthodox observers of the Smṛiti") in the Dekhan, who are reputed to be his direct heirs, take part in the sectarian devotions without formally declaring themselves in favour of any. In Hindustan it is the same with the majority of the members of the upper and educated classes. Thus there have been sects who, instead of choosing between the two great divinities, have associated them together in ■ common cultus. Alongside of the god who is three and one there is thus the god who is two and one, Harihara (Harihara, that is, Vishṇu-Śiva—though the pure Śivaïtes interpret this name as "Śiva (the master) of Vishṇu"), and he, from a simple mystic formula, which was all he was at first, has come in the end to be a perfectly concrete figure with ■ mythology of his own. As the object of a special and well-defined cultus, he appears to be of somewhat recent date. It is only since the tenth century that the invocation *ex æquo* of Śiva and of Vishṇu is found attested with a certain emphasis in the inscriptions.³ Harihara himself does not appear in them before the end of the thirteenth. We would feel bound to name a much earlier date, however, if we could be sure, on the one hand, that the hymn in his honour which is contained in the *Harivaṃśa*⁴ formed part of the original redaction of this poem (there already existed one of that name in the sixth

¹ iii. 30, ed. Bohnen. Śiva is a "form" of Vishṇu (or the reverse) in several Purāṇas; for example, in the Vṛihannāradiya P., in Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, p. 10.

² G. Bühler in the Journ. of the

Roy. As. Soc., Bombay, vol. xii., extra number, p. 76:

■ See the inscriptions in the Ind. Antiq., vi. 51; v. 342; Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc., Bombay, xi. 267, 276; xii. 25.

⁴ Ch. clxxxi.

century),¹ and if we could be sure, on the other hand, that the sculptures in the great hypogeum at Bâdâmi, in which this god is one of the figures,² were contemporary with the institution of this sanctuary, which is of the sixth century as well. However this may be, his cultus is found to be wide spread in the Dekhan from the date of the fourteenth century, particularly in Mysore; and Harihara is at the present time one of the most popular deities of the Tamîl country.³

¹ A Harivamça is mentioned, Vâsavadattâ, p. 93, ed. F. E. Hall.

² Ind. Antiq., vi. 358. The author of the article, J. Burgess, the discoverer of these caves, appears to have no doubt on this point. Compare his "Cave-Temples," p. 406.

³ See F. Foulkes, The Legends of the Shrine of Harihara, Madras, 1876. Not to interrupt our exposition of the religions of Çiva and

Vishnu, which constitute the true substance of Hinduism, we refer our readers to the details given pp. 252 *seq.*, respecting the other deities of the sectarian Pantheon, which are usually subordinate, but some of which, such as Ganeça, have had their peculiar sects, and one of which, the sun namely, has at times attained the rank of a supreme divinity.

HINDUISM.

II. THE SECTS, THEIR HISTORY AND DOCTRINES.

Obscurity of the ancient and most interesting portion of this history.—Absence of a chronology, and want of accurate information, notwithstanding the array of documents.—The Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Purāṇas.—The positive history of the sects does not commence till the eleventh or twelfth century, by which time they were capable only of reassertion.—Ancient Vishnuism : idealism of the Bhāgavad Gītā, and its influence on the entire ulterior development.—Moderate idealism of the Pāñcarātras or Bhāgavatas.—The schools and sects of Ṣaṅkara, Rāmānuja, and Anandatīrtha.—Ancient Śaivism, its preference for the Sāṅkhya metaphysics.—Pācupatas and Māheṣvaras.—The doctrine of grace among the Śaivas.—The Ṣakti, or the female principle : the Ṣaktas and their twofold rite of the right hand and the left hand : human sacrifices, magical and obscene rites.—Idealistic Śaivism : Tri-daṇḍins and Smārtas.—The Kashmir school of the Pratyabhijñā.—Great Śaivite religions of the Dekhan : Basava and the Lingāyits.—The Sittars and the alchemists : Arab influences.—The Śaivite sects of the North : the different orders of Yogins.—Extravagance of asceticism and moral degeneracy.—Apparent decrease of Śaivism.—Doctrine of salvation and the means of it : Jñāna or gnosis : above it Bhakti or faith.—Is this Bhakti such as it at first appears in Vishnuism, something borrowed from Christianity ?—Jesus and Kṛishṇa, alleged reciprocal influence of the two religions small in reality.—Results of the doctrine of Bhakti ; splitting up of sects and idolatry.—Refinements of Quietism and Mysticism.—The doctrine of grace among the Vaiṣṇavas.—In consequence of his very elation Bhakti leads back to formalism.—Bestowed on the Guru, who is deified, and at length the only authority of the sect, it becomes a new source of schism.—Vishnuism becomes an erotic religion : sects of Caitanya, Vallabhācārya, and others.—Mystic and pietistic communities.

FROM what precedes it is easy to see that the different ways of connecting or combining the persons of the gods, which occupy so great a space in the literature, and one of which, at least, the Trinity, has had a certain celebrity

among ourselves, constitute in reality only a subordinate point in the theology of the sects, and the decision of which they have left more or less to individual predilection. Their proper work lies elsewhere, in the doctrinal conception which each has formed to itself of its principal god, and in the practical consequences which they have severally deduced from it. These form the real data for their history, and consequently for that of the religions of India, for more than two thousand years. Unhappily an entire half (and that the most interesting part) of this history is enveloped in deep obscurity. On some points there is abundance of detail, but there is absolutely no chronology. On other points the facts themselves are wanting. The great epic poem of the *Mahābhārata*, which is in the main the most ancient source of our knowledge of these religions, is not even roughly dated; it has been of slow growth, extending through ages, and is, besides, of an essentially encyclopedic character.¹ The *Rāmāyana*, which is pre-eminently a work of art, in which an elevated religious and moral spirit is allied with much poetic fiction, leaves us in equal uncertainty.² The same is true of the eighteen principal *Purāṇas*, not one of which is dated, which almost all quote from one another, and the period of the redaction of which embraces perhaps a dozen centuries.³ Neither have we

¹ For the *Mahābhārata* and its different redactions, see especially Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.*, i. 1004; ii. 494, 2d ed. The editions most common are that of Calcutta, 4 vols. 4to, 1834-39, and that of Bombay, folio, 1863. A would-be French translation by H. Fauche, which embraces the eight first cantos, appeared in 3 vols., 1863-70.

² See A. Weber, *Ueber das Rāmāyana*, 1870 (*Memoirs of the Academy of Berlin*). The *Rāmāyana* has been edited and translated into Italian by G. Gorresio, 11 vols., 1843-67. A French translation by H. Fauche has appeared in 3 vols., 1854-58. The edition of Schlegel, with Latin translation, 1829-30, has not been

finished. There are several native editions of the *Rāmāyana*; among others, that of Calcutta, 1859, and that of Bombay, 1859.

³ For the *Purāṇas* in general see H. H. Wilson, *Analysis of the Purāṇas*, in *Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. v. (1838), reproduced in his *Select Works*, vol. iii.; it comprises only six of these works: *Brāhma*, *Padma*, *Agni*, *Brahmavaivartta*, *Vishṇu*, and *Vāyu*. By the same author, *Preface to the translation of the Vishṇu Purāṇa* (1840), as well as the numerous comparative notes attached to the translation. These notes have been completed by F. E. Schlegel in the 2d edition (1864-77). A. Weber, *Verzeichniss der Sanskrit-*

succeeded in fixing the age of the sectarian *Upanishads*, some of which are of all the more value that they are not eclectic, like the majority of the preceding writings; nor can we determine that of the *Bhakti Sûtras* and of the *Nârada Pañcarâtra*,¹ both so important with respect to the development of Vishnuism and the doctrine of faith. An obscurity greater still rests on the *Sûtras*, the *Agamas*, and the *Tantras*, which contain the dogmas and the ritual of the Çaivas, especially all that has respect to the cultus of the Çaktis, the female divinities. Of all this voluminous and complex literature, the dated works of which do not go farther back than the eighth century, we know up to the present time only some titles and some extracts,² to which we must add the *résumé* of the Çivaite metaphysics—a theoretic one, and in no respect historical—which Sâyana in the fourteenth century inserted in his “General Synopsis of the Systems.”³ We may be permitted

Handschriften der K. Bibliothek ■ Berlin, 1853, pp. 127-148. Especially Th. Aufrecht, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. Sanscriticorum quotquot in Bibliotheca Bodleiana adservantur*, 1859, pp. 7-87. The work of Vans Kennedy, *Researches into the Nature and Affinities of Ancient Hindu Mythology*, 1831, rests principally on the Purâṇas.

The two Purâṇas most celebrated, the Vishṇu P. and the Bhâgavata P., are well known, the ■ by the translation of H. H. Wilson, 1840 (2d. ed. 1864-77), the other by the edition and the translation of E. Burnouf, comprising only books i.-ix. (M. Hauvette-Besnault is at present engaged in the publication of the three last), 3 vols. 1840-47. Of both there exist several native editions. The collection of the Bibliotheca Indica comprehends the Mârkaṇḍeya P., published by K. M. Banerjea, 1862; the Agni P., by Râjendralâla Mitra, 1873-79, 3 vols.; and the Vâyu P., commenced by the same editor. There ■ besides native editions of the Maṣṭya P.,

the Linga P., the Brahmavaivartta P., the Kûrma P., &c., and fragments (principally Mâhâtmyas) of several others. Besides the eighteen principal Purâṇas, there ■ reckoned eighteen Upapurâṇas, ■ secondary Purâṇas, the enumeration of which is given in Wilson's preface to the translation of the Vishṇu-P., p. lxxxvii., new edition. The official lists of the Purâṇas and Upapurâṇas ■ far from including all the works which lay claim to these titles, and it is for the present next to impossible to get up ■ critical bibliography of this literature.

¹ Published in the Bibliotheca Indica, the first by R. Ballantyne, 1861; the second by K. M. Banerjea, 1865. The Bhakti Sûtras are later than the Bhagavad Gîtâ, which they quote, Sûtra 83.

² The most minute information we have in regard to the Tantras will be found in Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, pp. 88-110.

³ The Sarvadarçanasamgraha, published several times in India, among others in the Bibliotheca Indica.

to question whether we shall ever succeed in establishing for this first period of the sectarian religions a chronological chain with the least pretension to accuracy; for the difficulty seems inherent in the very nature of the documents, which are for the most part impersonal works, in which the apocryphal and the fraudulent at times flourish to an unconscionable extent. In these circumstances, the data, so valuable otherwise, which are supplied by foreign sources, such as Greek, Chinese, and Arabic,¹ by certain secular writings fairly dated, and especially by inscriptions, might themselves lead to illusions, unless used with precaution. Nothing warrants us, for instance, in referring to the *Pāñcarâtras*, mentioned in the seventh century by Bâṇa and Kumârila, the doctrines expounded in our *Pañcarâtra*, or in identifying the *Bhâgavatas* which figure in the inscriptions from the end of the second century, on the one hand with those of the *Mahâbhârata*, and on the other hand with those against whom Çaṅkara argues. Even from the writings of this last master we gain nothing to speak of towards the history of the sects, because he confines himself in his discussions to the investigation of certain metaphysical points, of which it is next to impossible to recover either the historical filiation or the religious form. There is a work, it is true, on which reliance has sometimes been placed, and which, in fact, if we might make use of it, would yield ■ more than mere hints in reference to the epoch of this celebrated man, and something like a statistic account of the sectarian opinions then prevalent. We refer to the *Çaṅkaravijaya*, "The Triumphs of Çaṅkara," in which Anandagiri, the disciple of Çaṅkara, is presumed to relate at length the polemics maintained by the master against

¹ See Renaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans relatifs à l'Inde antérieurement au xi. siècle*, 1845, and *Mémoire Géographique, Historique et Scientifique sur l'Inde antérieurement ■ xi. siècle d'après les Ecrivains Arabes, Persans et Chinois*, 1849; Lassen,

Geschichte des Chinesischen und Arabischen Wissens von Indien, at the end of vol. iv. of the *Indische Alterthumskunde*; E. Rehatsek, *Early Moslem Accounts of the Hindu Religions*, in the *Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc., Bombay*, xiv.

forty-eight different sects. But since the work has been published,¹ it is enough to compare it with the authentic polemic of Çaṅkara, especially with his commentary on the second book of the Vedānta Sûtras, to feel satisfied that that is only an apocryphal romance of no worth in regard to the eighth century. Some other compositions on the same subject, the existence of which has been pointed out, are quite ■ untrustworthy.² Till we receive farther light on the subject, we must therefore rest content with this, that during a space of a thousand years and more, there is, for the sectarian religions, only a sort of internal chronology of extreme vagueness, and more or less matter of conjecture. Their positive history hardly commences till we come upon the heads of the schools of the twelfth century (for the Çivaism of Kashmir a little earlier, viz., the ninth),³ that is to say, till an epoch when each creed had, as regards its essential principles, already more than once spoken its final word.

In fact, these very sects, which have lived such an intense and varied life, and which have up to our own time shown such capacity to modify and continually readjust their organisation, their practices, and their spirit, were early obliged to repeat and reassert the same theological principles, as these had been furnished to them by the ancient speculations of Brahmanism. They appropriated these abstract formulæ to themselves, at one time applying them as they were, at another modifying them in such a way as to make them quadrate more with religious sentiments cast in a different mould from those which had inspired the authors of the old Upanishads and the redactors of the Darçanas; for obviously neither the impersonal Brahman and the single substance of the Vedānta,

¹ In the *Bibliotheca Indica* by Janyanârâyana Tarkapañcânana, 1868.

² See F. E. Hall, *A Contribution towards ■ Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems*, 1859, pp. 167, 168.

³ Thanks especially to the reports brought lately from Kashmir by G. Bühler, and recorded by him in vol. xii., extra number, of the *Roy. As. Soc.*, Bombay.

nor Nature, fertile but blind, the first cause of the Sâṅkhya, corresponded with the new objects of devotion. The Vedânta had to recognise more or less explicitly ■ god distinct from the world; and with this view it was necessary it should either deny the reality of the world by developing to the utmost the theory of illusion, of *Mâyâ*, or renounce its fundamental dogma of *Advaita*, or non-duality, of *ὅς ἐν καὶ πᾶν*. As for the Sâṅkhya, it had to transmute itself into a deistic system. These solutions, of which we have already made mention several times, but the true origin of which, it appears, must be sought here in the sectarian religions, have received a twofold expression: the one technical, in writings which for the most part are still known only at secondhand, and in which, as in almost all the productions of Hindu scholasticism, the precision of the formulæ is often in direct ratio to the vagueness of the doctrines; the other literary and poetic, in works in which there prevail usually endless confusion and dogmatic incoherency, but also in which mysticism asserts itself at times with a sublimity of sentiment of no ordinary kind.

Nowhere does this last character appear to better advantage than in the celebrated work which contains probably the oldest dogmatic exposition we possess, not only of Vishnuism, but of a sectarian religion in general, the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*, "The Song of the Most High." In this poem, which is interpolated ■ an episode in the Mahâbhârata,¹ Kṛishṇa, who is identical with the supreme being, himself reveals the mystery of his transcendent nature. The doctrine, as is generally the case with Vishnuism, is essentially unitarian, that is to say, Vedantic, although extensive use is made in it of the nomenclature and conceptions of the Sâṅkhya. Kṛishṇa is the absolute being in human form, immutable and alone; the world

¹ Mahâbhârata, vi. 830 – 1532. has been frequently published, and since the time of the translation of there ■ translations of it now into it by Ch. Wilkins in 1785, this book all the languages of Europe.

and himself in his mortal form are the production of his Mâyâ, his deceptive magic; he alone is real, and those who are conscious of being one with him have peace and safety. The same doctrine, but not so pure and less elevated in point of conception as well as in point of form, reappears in several Krishnaite Upanishads. It is found applied to the religion of Nṛsiṃha, of Viṣṇu conceived as man-lion—a sect of which there is not much mention elsewhere—in the *Nṛsiṃhatâpanîya-Upanishad*, and to the religion of Viṣṇu-Râma in the *Râmatâpanîya-Upanishad*. If Çaṅkara, the great champion of the orthodox Advaita, professed a sectarian doctrine, it was that. It is from it in the main that the *Kural* of Tiruvalluvar draws its inspiration, as do also the songs of his sister Auvaïyâr, those gems of ancient Tamîl literature. We shall meet with it again in Çivaism. It plays an important part in the Vishnuite Purâṇas, especially in the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa* which has consecrated to its service a power of composition of such range and fulness as at times to remind us of the inspired language of the Bhagavad Gîtâ. Finally, the great influence exercised by these two works has rendered it familiar to all the modern sects, at least in Hindustan, and in the north of the Dekhan. It has infused itself deeply into the popular poetry, and we meet with its formulæ in Bengal in the *Kîrtans* of the followers of Caitanya, as well as among the Marhattas in the songs of Tuka-râma, or in the Punjâb in the *Adigranth* of the Sikhs.

But it is clear, too, that such a tenet must not be too closely pressed, when the subject in debate is the faith of the great mass of the people. Even speculative people, with their accustomed power of thought, find it difficult to lay hold of it, and are often baffled with the language, even in treatises which affect scholastic rigour of statement. Much more is this the case in the mystic effusions of a poetry which is not hampered by the fear of contradicting itself, and which aims less at con-

vincing the mind than at overpowering it, by affecting it with a sort of vertigo. Thus it is often difficult to distinguish this doctrine from another of equally ancient tradition, but the systematic exposition of which we find only in more recent documents. We refer to the doctrine of the Pāñcarâtras, or, as they are at times called more generally, the Bhâgavatas.¹ These, it is said, regarded the world and the souls of individuals, the *jîvas*, as emanations from the Supreme Being, destined to be absorbed anew in him, but constituting, during the intermediate term, beings at once real and distinct from God. Çaṅkara, to whom we owe the first intimation we have of this doctrine, says that it was conceived in contradiction to the Veda by Çāṇḍilya; and, in fact, there is very clearly an allusion to it in the *Bhaktisûtras*,³ which have reached us under the name of Çāṇḍilya. All through the Vishnuite literature there occur passages, and very numerous they are, which are in perfect keeping with it; but none of the ancient books (we cannot consider the *Nârada Pāñcarâtra*⁴ such) in which it was specially expounded have come down to us. In a historical point of view we know little of it. The Mahâbhârata presupposes a close connection between the Pāñcarâtras and the Bhâgavatas,⁵ whose perfect faith in one only god it extols, a faith which must have been imported to them from abroad, from Çvetadvîpa, "The White Island," a sort of Atlantis situated in the extreme north, beyond the Sea of Milk.⁶ More recently, in the

¹ They are treated of in the 4th section of the *Sarvadarçanasamgraha*. Colebrooke has devoted a chapter to them in his *Memoirs on the Philosophy of the Hindus*, *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. i. p. 437, ed. Cowell.

² Çaṅkara ad Vêdânta Sûtra, ii. 2, 42-45, p. 600, ed. of the *Biblioth. Indica*.

³ *Bhakti Sûtras*, 31, ed. of *Biblioth. Indica*.

⁴ Were it only from the way in which the name *Vaishṇava* is employed in it.

⁵ Bhâgavata signifies worshipper of Bhagavat, the Most High. As for Pāñcarâtra, which the books of the sect explain metaphorically by "possessor of the Pāñcarâtra, of the fourfold knowledge," the origin of it is involved in obscurity. Pāñcarâtra signifies the space of five nights, and there are Vedic ceremonies of this name; on the other hand, the *Nârada Pāñcarâtra* is divided into five books, entitled *râtras* or nights.

⁶ *Mahâbhârata*, xii. 12702 seq.

seventh century, the poet Bâna speaks of them as of two distinct sects.¹ In the inscriptions the Bhâgavatas are frequently mentioned, in the provinces of the Ganges from the second century, on the Coromandel coast in the fourth, and in Gujarât in the fifth and sixth.² But it is by no means certain that in these different texts the same words always denote the same things; it is even probable that in the monumental inscriptions the term Bhâgavata simply means worshipper of Vishnu.³

In the twelfth century this qualified idealism was successfully revived by Râmânûja, a Brahman, and a native of the neighbourhood of Madras,⁴ who gave a systematic exposition of it in his commentary on the Vedânta Sûtras.⁵ He argued against the absolute Advaita of Çankara, maintained the separate but finite reality of individual beings, and rejected the theory of the Mâyâ. His followers, called Râmânûjas, after his name, worship Râma as the representative of the Supreme Being; they are divided into several branches, and are very numerous, particularly in the South. In the fourteenth century Râmânanda, one of the chiefs of the sect, went to settle at Oude and at Benares. From him the numerous subdivisions of Râmânandis are lineally descended, who differ from the Râmânûjas only in their practices, are very widely scattered, and have great influence in Northern India. The celebrated

¹ In his Harshacarita as quoted by Hall, Vâsavadattâ, pref., p. 53. The Çankaravijaya distinguishes them similarly, ch. vi. and viii., ed. of the Biblioth. Indica. In the Varâha Purâna, on the other hand, the Pañcarâtra is identified with the doctrine of the Bhâgavatas. Aufrecht, Oxford Catalogue, p. 58.

² Inscriptions of the Guptas at Behâr and at Ehitari, in A. Cunningham's Archæological Survey, vol. i. pl. xvii. and xxx. Inscriptions of the Pallavas of Vengî in Ind. Antiq., v. 51, 176. Inscriptions of Valabhî, *passim*.

³ This is the sense which it has,

for example, in Varâha Mihira, Brihat Samhita, lx. 19, p. 328, ed. Kern.

⁴ For the historical sects, we refer the reader once for all to H. H. Wilson's Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus, published in the Asiatic Researches, vols. xvi. and xvii., 1828-32, and reproduced in the first volume of the Select Works of this celebrated Indian scholar.

⁵ A short exposition of the Vedânta, by the same author, has been recently published in Calcutta, The Vedântatattvasâra of Râmânûja, 1878.

poet Tulasîdâsa, the author of the Hindî Râmâyana, in the sixteenth century, was one of them. Râmânanda exercised indirectly a great influence over the majority of the modern Vishnuite sects of Hindustan and Bengal, those of Caitanya, Kabîr, Nânak, and a host of others of minor importance. Râmânûja had broken with the prejudices of caste, but he had kept to the Sanskrit as the sacred language, and he attached ■ great weight to the practices of religion and the prescriptions of legal purity. Râmânanda departed still more from orthodox usage; he adopted the vulgar dialects of the country, and taught the vanity of merely external observances. Among his principal disciples there figure basketmakers, weavers, barbers, water-carriers, and curriers.

At nearly the same period as Râmânûja, another man of the South, Anandatîrtha, born at Kalyâna, on the Malabar coast, pushed still farther than he did the reaction against the idealism of the school of Çaṅkara. He taught that matter, the souls of individuals and God, that is to say Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu, are so many irreducible and eternally distinct essences. This was to make ■ step nearer the fundamental principle of the Sâṅkhya deism (and yet Anandatîrtha was a Vedântin, and commented on the Brahma Sûtras!), that is to say, to a system which had not in the main the predilections of Vishnuism. But even within the circle of the Vaishṇava theology that was not a novel doctrine. In fact, if the dualistic conception is not a dominant one in any of the important Vishnuite works which have reached us, they are nevertheless all, from the Bhagavad-Gîtâ onwards, so profoundly penetrated with ideas that depend on it, that, in spite of the close affinity of the theory of the Avâtaras with Vedantic ideas, we cannot doubt that there existed early a Vishnuism with a Sâṅkhya metaphysics. The followers of Anandatîrtha belong almost exclusively to the extreme South, where they are very numerous. The members of the congregation strictly speaking, the Mâdhvas, so called from a surname of their master, are all Brahmans, for, in

opposition to Râmânuja, Anandatîrtha was a strict observer of the distinctions of caste; but the doctrine called the doctrine of the Dvaita or duality is widely spread among the masses, and the popular songs of the Dâsas, many of whom are of low caste, extol it with a sectarian fervour bordering on fanaticism.¹

That we may not be obliged to return again and again to the same topics farther on, we shall here leave for a little the subject of Vishnuism, and finish off at once with what we have to say concerning the sectarian metaphysic by a *résumé* of the speculative doctrines of Çivaism. The Çivaite religions appear to be more ancient than those of Vishnu, or at least to have been adopted at an earlier date by the Brahmans. We have already seen that they are the only ones which have left any trace in the Veda, and that, for its part, the epic poetry, which in its existing redaction is Vishnuite in the main, equally presupposes that the cultus of Mahâdeva had to some extent previously prevailed. The first Hindu representations of a character unmistakably religious which we find on coins (of the Indo-Scythian kings, about the beginning of the Christian era)² are Çivaite figures alternating with Buddhist symbols. Çivaism, in short, seems to have remained long a sort of professional religion of the Brahmans and men of letters.³ The most ancient dramatic literature that has reached us is under Çivaite patronage.⁴ It is the same with the works of romance.⁵ It is likewise to

¹ See F. Kittel, On the Karnâṭaka Vaishṇava Dâsas, in the Ind. Antiq., ii. 307.

² See R. Rochette, Notice sur quelques Médailles de Rois de la Bactriane et de l'Inde, in Journ. des Savants, 1834, fig. 7, p. 389. By the same author, Supplement to the preceding Notice, *ibid.*, 1835, pl. ii. figs. 22, 23, 24. Lassen, Ind. Alterthumsk., t. ii. p. 808 *seq.*,

Brahmans among the Çivaïtes is very great; almost all those in Bengal and Orissa, for instance, belong to the Brahmanical caste.

³ The dramas of Kâlidâsa, the Mricchakatikâ, the Mâlâtî-Mâdhava of Bhavabhûti. See also Malavikâgnimitra, str. 6.

⁴ The ancient Bṛihat-kathâ, the original source, now lost, of the most of the collections of tales, began with a dialogue between Çiva and

Çiva that legend ascribes the origin of grammar,¹ and Gaṇêṣa, whom we meet with early as the god of arts and letters, is a figure of the Çivaite pantheon. And yet of Çivaism we possess no ancient doctrinal exposition which for beauty of form can be compared, for instance, with the Bhagavad Gîtâ. It early lost its hold over religious epic poetry. Among the Purâṇas, those which properly belong to it are the most spiritless of the collection; they are compilations in which legendary narrative is the leading element, or they interest themselves by preference in rites and observances, and then, like the Tantras, which they much resemble, affect a very special, almost an esoteric character. It appears to have inspired no work of any brilliancy, such as the Bhâgavata Purâṇa, and, with the exception of certain hymns, mostly modern, and some pieces which have really become popular, such as the *Devîmâhhâtmya*,² it seems, in its literature anyhow, to have been capable of nothing between the productions of a refined fantastic art and the technical treatise. Of writings of this last kind we as yet know only a small number, of by no means ancient date, through translations from the Tamîl originals.³ Hence for our knowledge of most

¹ Pâṇini received from Çiva the revelation of his grammar. Kathâsaritsâgara, i. 4. See the same legend, according to the Brihatkathâ of Kshemendra, in the Ind. Antiq., i. 304 (Bühler). The fourteen first Sûtras of Pâṇini, which supply the basis of part of its terminology, are quite specially regarded as revealed, and ■■■■ for that ■■■■ called *Çivasûtras*. Another tradition, which ascribes the oldest grammar to Indra, is traceable to myths of the Veda. Taitt. Samh., vi. 4, 7, 3; i. 6, 10, 6.

² It forms the lxxxi.-xciii. chaps. of the Mârkaṇḍêya Purâṇa, pp. 424-485, ed. of the Biblioth. Indica. L. Poley has given an edition of it, with ■ Latin translation, 1831. A French translation by E. Burnouf

appeared in 1824, in the work of his father, L. Burnouf: Examen du Système Perfectionné de Conjugaison grecque de Thiersch. The *Devîmâhhâtmya* is the principal sacred text of the worshippers of Durgâ in Northern India.

³ Th. Foulkes, The Siva-prakasha-pattalai, or The Elements of the Saiva Philosophy, translated from the Tamîl, Madras, 1863. By the same author, Catechism of the Saiva Religion, ibid., 1863. Three Çivaite treatises translated from the Tamîl by H. R. Hoisington in the Journ. of the American Oriental Society, vol. iv. Colebrooke has treated of the Mâhêçvaras and the Pâcupatas in his Memoirs on the Philosophy of the Hindus, Miscellaneous Essays, vol. i. p. 430, ed. Cowell.

of the doctrines of Çivaism, we are dependent on documents at secondhand, particularly on the exposition of them which, in the fourteenth century, Sâyana has left us in his *Sarvadarçana-saṅgraha*,¹ and on information collected by H. H. Wilson in his "Sketch of the Religions of the Hindu Sects." Of the testimonies collected in this way, not one, we may be sure, is contemporary with the *Pâçupatas* (worshippers of *Paçupati*) of the *Mahâbhârata*, nor even with the *Mâhêçvaras* (worshippers of *Mahêçvara*, the great Lord), which are mentioned in the inscriptions of the fifth century.² It is nevertheless probable that they have, under the head of doctrines peculiar to the *Pâçupatas* and the *Mâhêçvaras*, preserved for us the old speculations of Çivaism, and that, long before the times of Çaṅkara and Gaudapâda, who preceded Çaṅkara by two or three generations (the two polemics to whom we owe the first precise, though extremely brief, intimations of the metaphysical systems of the Çaivas),³ Çivaism had in the main adopted the formulæ of the deistic Sâṅkhya. As in this last system, the soul is clearly distinguished from matter on the one hand, and from God on the other. Matter, the *prakṛiti*, is eternal; it is the pregnant but blind medium in which the *Mâyâ* and the different modes of the divine energy work, and in connection with which the soul undergoes the consequences of its acts. United to matter the soul is separated from God; it is a prey to error and sin, and it falls under the law of death and expiation. It is a *paçu*, an animal held back by a chain, by matter namely, which hinders it from returning to its *pati*, or master (for that is the metaphorical meaning, which we now meet with in the old name of *Paçupati*, "the master of flocks"); and it is to break this bond that all the efforts of the faithful must be directed. God, that is to say Çiva, is

¹ Chap. vi.-ix.

² Inscriptions of Valabhî, *passim*.

³ Çlokas of Gaudapâda, ii. 26, printed along with the *Mâṇḍûkyâ*

Upanishad, p. 427, ed. of the *Bibl. Ind.*; Çaṅkara *ad Vêdânta Sûtras*, ii. 2, 1-10, p. 497 *seq.*, and ii. 2, 37-41, p. 591 *seq.*, ed. of the *Bibl. Ind.*

pure spirit, although to render himself perceptible and conceivable he deigns to assume a body, composed "not of matter, but of force." He is the efficient cause of all things; the absolute cause, according to some, determining everything without himself being determined by anything; the omnipotent cause, according to others, but who leaves to the soul ■ certain freedom of action with reference to its own destiny. The problem of liberty, merit, and grace, which we encounter among the Vaishnavas also, thus received among these sects a twofold solution: the Pâcupatas adhering to predestination; others, the followers of the Çai-vadarçana, properly speaking, leaving to man the initiative in his salvation. Both admitted that there were inferior manifestations of the deity, and both in particular distinguished clearly between Çiva and the different modes of his energy, of his Çakti, by which he produces, preserves, and destroys the world. This is the instrumental cause, as the prakṛiti is the material cause, and ■ he himself is the efficient cause. It is at once his Mâyâ and his free grace, and is personified in his wife, Devî or Mahâdevî, "the great goddess," with a thousand names and a thousand forms.¹

The personification of the Çakti is not peculiar to Çivaism. Each god has his own, and Laksmî by the side of Vishṇu, and Sarasvatî by the side of Brahmâ, play the same part as Devî by the side of Çiva.² In the Râmatâpanîya-Upanishad, Sîtâ is the Çakti of Râma; she forms with him an inseparable pair, a single being with, as it were, ■ double face; and the union of Kṛishṇa and his favourite mistress Râdhâ is at times conceived of in a quite similar way (as, for instance, in the Nârada-Pañcarâtra), though the erotic mysticism, which figures to such an extent in these representations, has, in the cultus of Kṛishṇa, taken in general a different course. But it is in Çivaism that these ideas have found ■ soil most favourable for

■ Sarvadarçanasāṅgraha, ch. vi., vii. part of the male trinity. Varâha
 ■ There is sometimes mention of a Purâṇa in Aufrecht's Oxford Cata-
 Triçakti, which is the exact counter- logue, p. 59.

their expansion, and that they have been distorted into the most monstrous developments. As many as an entire half of the Çivaite religions are, in fact, characterised by the cultus of an androgynous or female divinity. The Çakti, such as she appears in these systems of worship, is no longer derived from the metaphysics which we have just sketched. It has its roots far away in those ideas, ■ old as India itself, of a sexual dualism, placed at the beginning of things (in a Brâhmaṇa of the Yajur-Veda, for instance, Prajâpati is androgynous), or of a common womb in which beings are formed, which is also their common tomb. It proceeds directly from the prakṛiti of the pure Sâṅkhya, from eternally fertile Nature, whence issue both the sensible forms and the intellectual faculties, and before which the mind, or the male element, acts a part that is featureless in character and barren of result. It is difficult to come to any precise conclusion in regard to the period when these ideas were translated into religious beliefs. Evidences of any antiquity are altogether wanting; in the epic, Çiva does not yet appear in his hermaphrodite form, and we must hesitate to regard him as the **ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ** of the Indo-Scythian coins.¹ As for the supremacy assigned to the female divinity, that is only affirmed in certain Purâṇas and in the literature of the Tantras. But perhaps there are here special reasons why we should not attach too much weight to the negative argument. These cultuses appear, in fact, to

¹ Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.*, ii. 826 seq. See ■ cast of these coins represented in R. Rochette, *Journal des Savants*, 1834, p. 392, fig. x. On the other hand, it is properly the androgynous Çiva we must conclude we have got in this statue, which ■ from ten to twelve cubits high, ■ posed of an unknown substance, the right side of a male and the left of a female, the arms extended like a cross, and the body covered over with representations of the sun, the moon, angels, and all conceivable beings, which the Brahmans worshipped

in a large cave on a very high mountain, and which certain Indian envoys on an embassy to Antoninus described to Bardisanes in Stobæus, *Eclog. Physic.*, i. 56. The description perfectly accords with the material pantheism that characterises this branch of the Çivaite religion. An androgynous Çiva (ardhanârîça), appears in the bas-reliefs of Bâdâmi, *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. vi. p. 359. The Matsya Purâṇa treats of the images of him, Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 42. See also *Mâlavikâgnimitra*, str. 1 and 4.

have become early complicated with ritual observances either of ■ horrible or ■■ obscene nature, which must have led to their being relegated to a special literature of a more or less occult character. Besides, the collections of tales based on the *Bṛihatkathâ* in which the cultus of the sanguinary goddesses plays such an important part, have an origin which goes much farther back, as far as the fourth or perhaps the third century of our era; and, on the other hand, the obscenities of the Çivaite Tantras have deeply infected the Buddhist Tantras of Nepâl (among others, the *Tathâgata Guhyaka*, which is one of their nine canonical books), and, through them, the Tibetan translations, the majority of which are of a date prior to the ninth century. This infiltration must have gone on but slowly; and as the fact of it implies the necessarily prior development of Hindu doctrines and practices, we may refer these last to the commencement of the middle age. But be that as it may, the cultus of the Çaktis, as it is formulated in certain Upanishads, in several Purâṇas, and especially in the Tantras, must not be confounded with the customary homage rendered by all the sects to the wives of the gods. It forms a religion by itself, that of the *Çâktas*, which again is subdivided into several branches, having their special systems of doctrine and forms of initiation, and in the heart of which there arose a quite distinctive mythology. At the summit and source of all beings is Mahâdevî, in whose character the idea of the Mâyâ and that of the prakṛiti are blended. Below her in rank are arrayed her emanations, the Çaktis of Vishṇu, of Brahmâ, of Skanda, &c. (an order which is naturally altered in favour of Laksmî or of Râbhâ in the small number of writings belonging to the class of Tantras which Vishnuism has produced), and a whole hierarchy, highly complex, and as variable as complex, of female powers, such as the *Mahâmâtris*, "the Great Mothers," personifications of

the productive and nourishing powers of Nature;¹ the *Yoginīs*, "the Sorceresses," whose interference is always violent and capricious; the *Nayikās*, the *Dākinīs*, the *Çākinīs*, and many other classes besides, without consistently definite powers, but almost all malignant, and whose favour is secured only at the expense of the most revolting observances.² All this in combination with the male divinities goes to form the most outrageous group of divinities which man has ever conceived. Herself inconceivable in her supreme essence, the Mahāmâyâ, "the Great Illusion," is worshipped under a thousand designations, and invested in an infinite variety of forms. But at the same time, the distinction between these forms is the same as that between different beings, and each of them has its own special circle of devotees. These forms correspond, for most part, to one of the aspects of her twofold nature, *black* or *white*, benevolent or cruel; and they constitute in this way two series of manifestations of the infinite Energy, ■ it were two series of supreme goddesses, one series presiding more specially over the creative energies of life, the other representing rather

■ The worship of the mothers, great mothers, or world-mothers (*Mātarah*, *Mahāmātarah*, *Lokamātarah*) has extended far beyond Çāktism, and even Çivaism properly so called. The idea from which it starts is obvious: it is that of the female principle worshipped in its diverse manifestations; but its history is obscure, because each religious scheme has appropriated ■ in ■ fashion in keeping with its peculiar theology. A. Weber (*Zwei Vedische Texte über Omina und Portenta*, p. 349 *seq.*) has attempted to trace the origin of them to the Veda, where we find, in fact, a cultus very similar in that of the *Tisro Devīh*, "the three goddesses." In the *Mahābhārata* (iii. 14467 *seq.*) they ■ the mothers of Skanda, the god of war, and in this connection they appear frequently in

the inscriptions of the middle age; for example, in the inscriptions of the Calukyas and the Kadambas of the Dekhan. Varāha Mihira mentions their images (*Bṛihat Samhitā*, lviii. 56, ed. Kern). Usually 7 ■ 8, they ■ elsewhere given at 9, 13, 16 (see the different enumerations in the Dictionary of St. Petersburg, s. v. *Mātar*). The *Pañcadāṇḍachatraprabandha* (p. 24, ed. Weber) mentions 64 of them. In Gujārāt they worship 120 (*Ind. Antiq.*, viii. 211). They are always invoked together as ■ troop or circle (*gaṇa*, *maṇḍala*); and even when they are conceived as propitious, there is in them ■ measure of mystery and awe.

² See the 5th act of the *Mālatī-Mādhava* of Bhavabhūti; *Kathāsaritsāgara*, chap. 18.

those of destruction. To both a twofold cultus is addressed: the confessed public cultus, the *Dakṣiṇācāra*, or "cultus of the right hand," which, except in one particular, namely insistence on animal sacrifice in honour of Durgā, Kālī, and other terrible forms of the great goddess, observes essentially the general usages of Hinduism; and the *Vāmācāra*, "the cultus of the left hand," the observances of which have always been kept more or less secret. Incantations, imprecations, magic, and common sorcery play a prominent part in this last, and many of these strange ceremonies have no other object than the acquisition of the different *siddhis* or supernatural powers. These are practices of very ancient date in India, since they are deeply rooted in the Veda,¹ and a special system of philosophy, the Yoga, is devoted to the explanation of them; but nowhere have they found ■ soil so congenial as in Īvaism and the cultus of the Īaktis. Neither is there room to doubt that the blood of human victims not unfrequently flowed on the altars of these gloomy goddesses, before the horrible images of Durgā, Kālī, Cāṇḍikā, and Cāmuṇḍā. Formal testimonies go to confirm the many allusions to this practice which occur in the tales and dramas.² In the sixteenth century the

¹ Rig-Veda, x. 136, 3. The Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa is, in fact, ■ manual of sorcery. The ■ may be said of the Kauṣika Sūtra of the Artharva-Veda. See the analysis which Shankar Pandurang Pandit gives, according to Sāyaṇa, in the Academy for 5th June 1880. We frequently meet with the same characteristic in the sections of the Taittirīya Yajus that refer to the kām्य-eshtis, or offerings presented for the fulfilment of a definite wish.

■ For example, Mālatī-Mādhava, act 5th; H. H. Wilson, Hindu Theatre, ii. 391, 397; Hitopadeśa, iii. Fable viii (History of Viravara); Kathāsaritsāgara, chap. 10, 18, 20, 22, 36, &c.; Viracaritra, in the Ind.

Stud., xiv. pp. 120, 123; Daśakumāracarita, ucchv. vii. p. 169, ed. H. H. Wilson; Pañcadāṇḍachettraprabandha, p. 25 (ed. Weber, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Berlin for 1877). In default of other victims, the offerer is, at least, his own victim: A. Weber, Die Simhāsanadvātriṃṣikā, in the Ind. Stud., xv. pp. 314, 315, and ibid., xiv. 149; Kathāsaritsāgara, chap. 6, 22, &c. The Kālikā Purāṇa (an Upapurāṇa) describes these rites in detail: H. H. Wilson, preface of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. xc. ed. Hall. This section of the Kālikā Purāṇa is translated in vol. v. of the Asiatic Researches.

Mohammedans found it established in Northern Bengal;¹ in the seventeenth, the Sikhs confess that their great reformer, Guru Govind, prepared himself for his mission by the sacrifice of one of his disciples to Durgâ;² in 1824 Bishop Heber met with people who told him they had seen young boys offered in sacrifice at the gates of Calcutta;³ and almost as late as our own time, the Thugs professed to murder their victims in honour of Kâlî. Perhaps we ought to view these practices as derived, by contact or by heritage, from the bloody rites of the aboriginal tribes. It is beyond question that many *forms* of the great goddess (and we may say the same of Çiva and Vishnu) are those of ancient local deities adopted by Hinduism. Several, and some of the most inhuman, appear to be native to Central India, and, as regards one of these at least, the very name, Vinhyavâsini, "the inhabitant of Vindhya," implies that she must have held sway over these mountains, where human sacrifice, less than half a century ago, still formed part of the national cultus of the Gonds, the Kols, and the Uraons.⁴ In our own days the English police have put an end to these rites, which, however, in the civilised districts of India, have always been more or less exceptional occurrences. This is not the case with those coarsely sensual and obscene observances which form the other side of these secret cults, and the indecent regulations in regard to which the Tantras expound with minuteness. The use of animal food and spirituous liquors, indulged in to excess,

¹ H. Blochmann, Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal, in Journ. of the As. Soc. of Bengal, vol. xlii. Shahrastâni (twelfth century) mentions the human sacrifices of the Çâktas, but adds that the people commonly repudiate them; translation by Haarbriicker, t. ii. p. 370. See Dabistân, ii. p. 155, translated by Shea and Troyer.

² T. Trumpp, The Adi Granth, Introduction, p. xc.

³ Letter of the 10th January 1824

to Mrs. Douglas, in the Correspondence printed as a sequel to the Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India.

⁴ W. Hunter, Statistical Account of Bengal, vol. xvi. pp. 291, 313; xvii. 281, 283; xix. 218. For a recent case (1872) among the Tamils of Ceylon, see Ind. Antiq., ii. 125. Similar observances have been practised, to our own days, among the Banjâris and among the Kois of the Telugu country; *ibid.*, viii. 219, 220.

is the rule in these strange ceremonies, in which Çakti is worshipped in the person of a naked woman, and the proceedings terminate with the carnal copulation of the initiated, each couple representing Bhairava and Bhairavî (Çiva and Devî), and becoming thus for the moment identified with them. This is the *Çrîcakra*, "the holy circle," or the *Pârnd-bhishêka*, "the complete consécration," the essential act, or rather foretaste of salvation, the highest rite of this delirious mysticism. For there is something else than licentiousness in these aberrations. The books which prescribe these practices are, like the rest, filled with lofty speculative and moral reflections, nay, even with ascetic theories; here, as well as elsewhere, there is a profession of horror at sin and a religiosity full of scruples; it is with pious feelings, the thoughts absorbedly engaged in prayer, that the believer is to participate in these mysteries, and it would be to profane them to resort to them for the gratifications of sense. In fact, a Çakta of the left hand is almost always a hypocrite and a superstitious debauchee; but there can be no doubt that among the authors of these contemptible catechetical books there were more than one who sincerely believed he was performing a work of sanctity. Statistical science has naturally little or nothing to say in regard to such observances. No Hindu with any self-respect will confess that he has any connection with the Vâmâcârins. But they are reputed to be numerous, many adherents who profess to belong to the right hand belonging in secret to the left. They form small fraternities, and admit into their number people of every class, but it is said that in Bengal especially their ranks are recruited to a great extent from among the Brahmans and the rich classes. It is proper to add, however, that those who make no mystery of their initiation insist that their sect should not be judged according to its books, and it is probable, in fact, that there are degrees of baseness in these proceedings, and that among people of culture and little faith a sort of superstitious Epicureanism has taken the

place of the revels of the ancient ritual. The Dakshinâcârin Çâktas, or adherents of the right hand, are met with in great numbers all over India. In Hindustan the great mass of the Çivaïtes are of this class, and in Bengal the entire population takes part in the Durgâpûjâ, the great festival in honour of their goddess, although the stricter Hindus reprobate the indecencies which are perpetrated in public on this occasion, and stigmatise the whole celebration as one that belongs to the observances of the left hand.¹

Alongside of the Çivaïsm which we have just been surveying, and which has recourse more or less directly to the Sâṅkhya system, there is another which is inspired with the idealism of the Vedânta, and maintains consequently the essential unity of the world, the soul and God. The most ancient sects that profess it in our day, the *Tridandins* (literally, "the bearers of the triple baton," metaphorically, "those who exercise ■ threefold sovereignty, viz., over their words, their thoughts, and their actions," carrying ■ a symbol of this sovereignty ■ stick with three knots), and the majority of the *Smârtas* (adherents of the Smṛiti or orthodox tradition), maintain that they are connected with Çaṅkara. . The first of these, who are divided into ten tribes, according to the districts of country where they originated, and who, for that reason, are also called *Daçandmis*, "those with the ten surnames," are ascetics, and have their centre at Benares. The second, who are numerous, especially in the Dekhan, live partly in the world and partly in convents.² Many of them are pure Vedântins, and hardly belong to Çivaïsm. They both admit into their order only Brahmans, and they themselves do not make their direct tradition go farther back than the eighth century. But here again it is proper

■ The *Dabistân* (ii. 148-164, translated by Schea and Troyer) contains ■ curious notice of the Çâktas (seventeenth century). From this period they constituted the ma-

jority of the Çivaïtes in Hindustan.

■ Their chief guru resides in the convent of Çringeri in Mysore. See A. C. Burnell, *Vaṃçabrâhmaṇa*, pref., p. xii.

to recall the remark already made when speaking of the Vishnuite systems, that in matters of doctrine the historical sects have invented little. Long before the eighth century we, in fact, find in the non-technical literature Çivaism connected with ideas derived from a system of doctrine very different from that of the Sâṅkhya. The Çiva, for instance, who is invoked at the commencement of the drama of "Çakuntalâ," who is at once god, priest, and offering, and whose body is the universe, is a Vedantic idea.¹ These testimonies appear to be forgotten when it is maintained, as is sometimes done, that the whole sectarian Vedantism commences with Çaṅkara.

This branch of the Çivaïte theosophy received its final form at Kashmir, between the ninth and eleventh centuries, in the writings of the school of Somānanda and Abhinavagupta.² These are the most ancient technical treatises on the subject which have reached us, the most ancient also to which Sāyaṇa refers in the exposition which he has given of the system. This system is pure idealism. God is the only substance, objects are his ideas; and as he is identical with ourselves, these objects are really in us. What we think we see outside of us we see within. The individual *ego* perceives, or rather re-perceives in itself, as in a mirror, the ideals of the transcendental *ego*, and cognition is only a recognition. Hence the name of the system, which is that of *Pratyabhijñā*, or Recognition. Guided by the true method of interior contemplation, and enlightened by the grace which it has merited through its faith in Çiva, the individual soul triumphs over the *Mâyâ*, from which all diversity proceeds and ends by the consciousness of self in God.³

In passing from this system, which we know only in its

¹ See besides the beginning of the *Vikramorvaçī*. The *Çvetāçvatara Up.*, which is certainly of date prior to Çaṅkara, is a sort of Çivaïte *Bhagavad Gîtā*. See especially sections iii. and iv.

² G. Bühler, who lately recovered

at Kashmir a good portion of the writings of this school, has given us valuable information regarding it in the *Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc.*, Bombay, xii. (extra number), p. 77 *seq.*

³ *Saradaçāṇasaṅgraha*, ch. viii.

learned form, to the sect of the *Lingâyits*, which is known to us only as a popular religion, we descend from the heights of the Timæus down to the level of the grossest superstitions. The Lingâyits appear, on the whole, to be connected with Çivaism in its idealistic form, since the *Jaṅgamas*, "the vagrants," who form among them the religious and ascetic order, accept as their principal authority a Çivaite commentary on the Vedânta Sûtras. But it is difficult to extract any creed whatever from the confused mass of legends, which, along with certain particulars in regard to their history, organisation, and cultus, constitute nearly all that we know about them. Their founder, Basava (which is a Dravidian form of the Sanskrit Vṛishabha), who was a Brahman, was born in the west of the Dekhan, in the first half of the twelfth century. He contended at once against the orthodox, the Vishnuites, and the Jainas; he preached Çivaism, the abolition of sacrifice and of the distinctions of caste, and rose by rapid stages to great influence. When the Kaluburigi Bijjala, who ruled at that time as king in the Dekhan, and had become his son-in-law, set himself up against him as the defender of the Jainas, he procured his assassination by the hands of his disciples, but he was obliged to destroy himself in order to escape the vengeance of that prince's successor. His work, however, did not perish along with him; the sect, or rather sects, which owe their origin to Basava, are at the present day dominant in the dominions of the Nizam and Mysore, and are widely spread in the extreme South; while their itinerant monks, the Jaṅgamas, are to be met with in every part of India.¹ Their principal books are writings entitled Purâṇas, in which the biography of the founder is interlarded with a great number of legends

¹ The Jaṅgamas do not always lead a wandering life; like other religious, they live sometimes in community in colleges (mathas). The name they go by, which signifies "ambulants," is thus considered

expressing their character of "moveable" or living lingas. See the description of one of these people in an inscription of the thirteenth century, Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc., Bombay, xii. p. 40.

concerning Çiva and his different local manifestations. They have also hymns for popular use, which breathe at times an elevated spirit. Almost the whole of this literature, of which we ■ yet know but little, is in the Canarese and Tamîl languages. As in the majority of these religions, the religious beliefs appear to be a mixture of Vedantic mysticism, deism, and gross idolatry.¹ They worship Çiva under the form of the *linga*, or phallus, and they always carry about with them a small image of this in copper or silver; whence their name, *Lingâyits*, or "phallus-wearers." Alongside of them there are other Çivaite sects more ancient, which observe the same custom, but have not broken so openly with the old traditions in regard to caste and ritual. The principal of these appears to be the sect of the *Arâdhyas*, or the "Reverends," who are all Brahmans, and who, though once very numerous, are now on the decline.

Far purer is the form in which Çivaism appears in the Tamîl poetical effusions of the *Sittars* (in Sanskrit *Siddhas*), "perfect ones."² We know but little of the sect from which these compositions emanate; at the present day it appears to be extinct; but the hymns themselves have retained their popularity, notwithstanding the peremptory way in which they denounce the most cherished beliefs of the masses. They are compositions, in general, of no great age, going back not more than two or three centuries, although they circulate under the names of the famous saints of antiquity, such as Agastya, the fabled civiliser of the Dekhan, and his not less fabulous disciples. In elevation of style they rival the most perfect compositions which have been left us by Tiruvalluvar, Auveiyâr, and the ancient Tamîl poets. But at the same

¹ The most recent communication in regard to the literature and beliefs of the *Lingâyits* we owe to F. Kittel: *Ueber den Ursprung des Lingakultus*, pp. 11 and 27, *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. iv. p. 211; v. 183.

² For this sect see Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, *Introd.*, pp. 127, 146, 2d ed., and E. Ch. Gover, *The Folk-Songs of Southern India*, Madras, 1871.

time, in their severe monotheism, their contempt for the Vedas and the Çâstras, their disgust at every idolatrous practice, and especially their repudiation of a doctrine so radical to Hinduism as metempsychosis, they much more clearly betray a foreign influence. Very competent critics¹ think they recognise in them an inspiration from Christianity, and, in fact, the native churches who believe in the remote antiquity of these collections profess the same esteem for them as those of the West did for the Sibylline books. But perhaps they are more imbued with Sufism than with Christian ideas. It is not in general, the monotheism of the Christian religion which most strikes the Hindu; and these hymns profess a rigid monotheism, which reminds us rather of the Koran than of the somewhat modified religious beliefs of the Christians of St. Thomas. In regard to alchemy, anyhow, in which the Sittars are zealous adepts, they were disciples of the Arabians, although other Çivaïtes had preceded them in the pursuit of the philosopher's stone. Already, in his exposition of the different doctrines of the Çaivas, Sâyana thought he ought to dedicate a special chapter to the *Raseçvara-darçana*, or "system of mercury,"² a strange amalgamation of Vedantism and alchemy. The object contemplated in this system is the transmutation of the body into an incorruptible substance by means of *rasa-pâna*, i.e., the absorption into it of elixirs compounded principally of mercury and mica, that is to say, of the very essential qualities of Çiva and Gaurî, with whom the subject of the operation is thus at length identified. This species of transubstantiation constitutes the *jîvanmukti*, or state of deliverance commencing with this present life, the sole and indispensable condition of salvation. It is clear that the devotional formulæ of the Vedânta are here only a sort of jargon, under which there lies hid a radically impious doctrine; and it is not less clear that in this doctrine, which had from the fourteenth century

¹ Especially R. Caldwell² *Sarvadarçanasamgraha*, ch. ix.

produced a rather considerable literature, there is an infusion of Mohammedan ideas.¹ Criticism is generally on the lookout for the least traces on Hinduism of Christian influence; but perhaps it does not take sufficiently into account that which Islamism has exercised. We seem to form our estimate of this last only through the results, which were on the whole negative, of the conquest, which was the work in general of unimpressible and coarse races; we forget the ancient presence, in the Dekhan especially, of the Arabian element. The Arabs of the Khalifat had arrived on these shores in the character of travellers or merchants, and had established commercial relations and intercourse with these parts long before the Afghans, Turks, or Mongols, their coreligionists, came as conquerors.² Now, it is precisely in these parts that, from the ninth to the twelfth century, those great religious movements took their rise which are connected with the names of Çaṅkara, Râmânuja, Anandatîrtha, and Basava, out of which the majority of the historical sects came, and to which Hindustan presents nothing analogous till a much later period. It has been remarked that these movements took place in the neighbourhood of old-established Christian communities.³ But alongside of these there began to appear, from that moment, the disciples of the Koran. To neither of these do we feel inclined to ascribe an influence of any significance on Hindu theology, which appears to us sufficiently accounted for by reference to its own resources; but it is very possible that indirectly, and merely as it were by their presence, they contributed in some degree towards the budding and bursting forth of those great religious reforms which, in the absence of doctrines

¹ Sâyaṇa refers to not fewer than eight names of authors or titles of different works.

■ See Reinaud, *Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine dans le Neuvième Siècle de l'Ere Chrétienne*, 1845. The most ancient

of these narratives is of date 841. The Arabs at that time carried on ■ flourishing trade on the Malabar coast.

■ A. C. Burnell, *On Some Pahlavi Inscriptions in South India*, Mangalore, 1873, p. 14.

altogether new, introduced into Hinduism ■ new organisation and a new spirit, and had all this common characteristic that they developed very quickly under the guidance of an acknowledged head, and rested on ■ species of authority akin to that of a prophet or an Iman. Now, to effect such a result as this, the Arabian merchants in the first centuries of the Hegira, with the Mohammedan world at their back, were perhaps better qualified than the poor and destitute Churches of the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts.

In connection with the systems which precede, we have nearly exhausted the speculative theology of Çivaism, and we may now glance rapidly at the crowd of more obscure sects or associations into which it is split up.¹ These divisions affect to a very slight degree the lay classes, especially in the North, where Çivaism retains its more ancient form. It has not given rise there to great, organised, and compact popular religions, like that of the Lingâyits of Basava in the South. If we compare it with Vishnuism, we may even affirm that it has, strictly speaking, produced there no modern sects, and that it there represents rather a unity of local cultuses than a unity of doctrinal beliefs. Hence, the divisions in question are

¹ In reference to the majority of the sects that follow, as well as some of those which precede, a great quantity of information and characteristic anecdote will be found in a work quoted from already more than once, "The Dabistân, or School of Manners," translated from the Persian by D. Shea and A. Troyer, 1843, the second chapter of which (vol. ii. pp. 1-228) is devoted to the religious beliefs of India. The author, whoever he was, of this curious history of religions, one of the most singular books which the East has given us, was ■ very free-thinking Sufi, who took ■ curious interest in theosophy, secret systems of doctrine, and refined forms of impiety, and was quite

■ *courant* with all that ■ happening in the sectarian world of Hinduism towards the middle of the seventeenth century. He had kept up personal, often intimate, relations with ■ great number of celebrities belonging to the different contemporary sects, with Vedântins, Yogins, Çâktas, Vairâgins, Jainas, disciples of Kabîr and Nânak, &c. He had read ■ great deal, and he was, for ■ Oriental, not deficient in critical ability. No work is better fitted than his to introduce ■ into the heart of that singular medley of religious and moral elevation and debasement, of heroic piety and barefaced charlatanry, which we meet with in Hindu sectarian life.

composed principally of professional devotees, who have no Church behind them. These, whether in the form of religious orders, more or less regular, or of associations without fixed bond of fellowship, are due to ascetic tendencies, or at least pretensions to asceticism. The most respectable are allied to the Tridandins and the Jangamas, already spoken of, and profess Vedantism; but, in general, they are mainly distinguished from each other by external observances and signs. They are commonly called *yogins*, that is, "possessors or practisers of the yoga," a term which practically has many shades of meaning, from that of saint to that of sorcerer or charlatan. The most widely scattered, perhaps, of these orders is that of the *Kāṇphāṭas*,¹ "slit ears," who are so called from the operation to which they subject their novices. Like the most of the Yogins, they ignore the distinction of caste. They are met with living separately ■ mendicants, more frequently collected together in groups ■ cenobites, in the Northern Dekhan, Gujarât, the Punjâb, the provinces of the Ganges, and Nepâl, in which last case they devote themselves to works of charity and the relief of the poor. Their traditions, which are extremely confused, represent each of these countries as claiming to be the native land of Gorakhnâtha, their founder. But as these traditions agree in representing him as the son or the more or less immediate disciple of Matsyendranâtha, who belongs to Nepalese Buddhism (and is even identified with the Bodhisattva Avalokiteçvara), it is probable that, like the *Jatis* and *Savaras*,² they were connected originally with the religion of Çâkyamuni. It is not known exactly at what period Gorakhnâtha lived. As for the other sects or varieties of Çivaite yogins, *Gosains* (there are also Vishnuite Gosains), *Bhartharis*, *Çivâcârins*, *Brahmacârins*, *Hamsas*, *Paramahamsas*, *Akâçamukhins*, *Urdhvabâhus*, *Kâpâlikas*, *Nâgas*, *Bahikathâs*,

¹ See Ind. Antiq., vii. 47, 298.

² Sherring, Hindu Tribes, p. 265, connects these two divisions with the

Buddhists. The description which the author of the "Dabistân" gives of them (ii. 211) would connect them

Aghoris, &c., &c., they have still less any history.¹ The names, in the special acceptation of them, are seldom ancient. Nevertheless, Hiouen-Thsang, and before him Varâha-Mihira (who lived in the sixth century),² show that they had a knowledge of the Kâpâlikas, so called because they wore about their person a death's-head, which they used as a drinking-vessel. But the tradition of these sects is their profession itself, and this is immemorial. From the outset, and more than any other Hindu religion, Çivaism has pandered to ascetic fanaticism. No other has exhibited so many horrible and revolting observances, or has worn with so much ostentation the badge, often singular enough, of devotion.³ Thus Hiouen-Thsang, who is usually so well informed, seems to have seen of the separate Brahmanical sects only the Çaivas during the fifteen years he devoted to the survey of the different countries of India. In our day cruel mortifications are becoming rare, yet there are still Akâçamukhins and Urdhvabâhus—who pose themselves in immovable attitudes, their faces or their arms raised to heaven, until the sinews shrink and the posture assumed often stiffens into rigidity—as well as Nâgas, Paramahamsas, Avadhûtas, and others, who, in spite of English interdicts, expose themselves to the inclemency of the weather in a state of absolute nudity. In all this there is no doubt much sincere fanaticism, but there also enters into it a good deal of hypocrisy and charlatanry. Very frequently mendicancy is the only motive for these pretended mortifications; and it is not so much to merit heaven ■ to extort alms, by exciting terror or disgust, that the Bahikathâs tear their bodies

rather with the Jainas. Jati is the Sanskrit Yati; under Savara, Sevra, Çrîvara, ■ the name is severally spelled, there is perhaps hid Çrâvaka, a designation of the lay Jainas.

¹ For the present state of these sects and fraternities see A. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes* ■ Represented in Benares, 1872, p. 255 seq.

■ St. Julien, *Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, t. i. p. 222. Varâha Mihira, *Bṛihat Samhitâ*, lxxxvii. 22, p. 432, ed. Kern.

■ Varâha Mihira gives Sabhas-madvija, ■ Brahman sprinkled with ashes, ■ ■ generic name of the Çivaïtes: *Bṛihat Samhitâ*, lx. 19, p. 328, ed. Kern.

with knives and the Aghoris feed on carrion and excrement.¹ Of the Yogins, some are found assembled in *mathas* or colleges near the sacred places of Çivaism, especially at Benares; others constitute themselves guardians of some sequestered chapel and live as hermits; but the greater number lead a wandering life. They infest the country in bands, sometimes very numerous, going from one place of pilgrimage to another, and flocking by thousands to the *melâs* or fairs, which are held periodically in the neighbourhood of every celebrated sanctuary. Of these last, many sell charms, practise incantations and exorcisms, tell fortunes, or are jugglers or minstrels. They are at once dreaded and despised—the Çâktas, who are numerous among them, still more so than the others—and they to a great extent reinforce the dangerous classes. And this is not a state of things due solely to modern corruption. From the time of Patañjali (that is, the second century before Christ), when the violence of these fanatical devotees had already passed into a proverb,² there is evidence to show that all along the maxim *Omnia sancta sanctis* was extensively in vogue among them.³ In order to conceive what they might be in the troubled periods of the past, it is enough to refer to accounts which refer to events of no distant date. Even at the end of the last century they formed the nucleus of those hordes which traversed Bengal, sometimes to the number of more than a thousand men, all armed to the teeth, accompanied with elephants and artillery, attacking towns and daring to hold the country in the face of detachments of British soldiery.⁴

At the present time Çiva is probably the god who can

¹ There appears to be no doubt that among the observances of ■■■■ obscene fanatics we must include acts of cannibalism: Dabistân, ii. 153, 156, 157; Ind. Antiq. viii. 88.

² Mahâbhâshya, in Ind. Stud. xiii. 347.

■ As early as the Mricchakatikâ,

p. 35, l. 5, ed. Stenzler, *gosâriâ*, a "religious," is synonymous with *veçyâ*, courtesan. See Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. ii. p. 25, 2d ed.

■ W. Hunter, Statistical Account of Bengal, vol. ii. p. 311; vol. vii. p. 159.

reckon up more sanctuaries than any other. From one end of India to the other, at every step, we meet with his temples and chapels, sometimes mere niches or mounds of earth, where he is worshipped principally under the form of the *linga*. But Çivaism, strictly speaking, is far from being the prevailing religion. Except in Kashmir and Nepâl, where the Hindu element¹ is chiefly composed of Çaivas, and at Benares, which is, as it were, its holy city, it has been losing ground in Hindustan. Every one, no doubt, worships Çiva here, but, with the exception of professional devotees, comparatively few Çivaïtes are met with, that is to say, people who make Çiva their principal god in the *mantra* of whom they have been specially initiated, and in the faith of whom they hope to work out their salvation. And the number would be still more reduced if we were to cut off the Çâktas from it who pay their vows to Devî rather than to her husband. In all the countries to the north of the Vindhya, several of which rank among the most thickly inhabited of the globe, the majority, wherever local cults of aboriginal derivation do not prevail, belong to Vishnuite religions. In the Dekhan the relative proportions are different, the Çivaïtes constituting large masses, especially in the South, and the two religions being probably equally balanced. But even there Vishnuism seems to be spreading. Naturally more expansive and more attractive—too attractive even, as we shall see by and by—it is more favourable to community of worship and religious sentiment than Çivaism, whose gloomy mysteries, under their triple ascetic, magic, and orgiastic forms, are better suited to the isolation and twilight atmosphere of small communities. It is, moreover, embellished with a richer body of fable, and it has found its expression in more striking literary works, which, translated into, ■■■ rather reproduced in, the principal languages, Aryan ■■■ well as Dravidian, have furnished

¹ That is to say, non-Mussulman in the former country, non-Buddhist in the latter.

an inexhaustible quarry for popular poetry. In fine, if it affords less nourishment to superstitious appetites, on the other hand, by the deep glimpses which the doctrine of the Avatâras opens in some degree into the divine nature, it allies itself more readily with Vedantic mysticism, that one of all the systems conceived in India which responds best to its aspirations. If it were legitimate to inquire towards what religious future this people would have advanced, had they been left entirely to themselves and their own resources, we might probably be led to suppose ■ day when they would have for religion some form of Vishnuism combined with Çivaite superstitions.

All the sects which we have just passed in review, Vaishnavas and Çaivas, the most honoured as well ■ the least, aim, or at any rate pretend to aim, at one single object, namely, salvation. They have their prescriptions for the acquisition of temporal wealth, but they profess to despise the possession of it. As ■ means of obtaining salvation, they all prescribe ■ cultus more or less encumbered or disencumbered with observances, to which we shall have to refer farther on; but above this cultus, harmonising in this respect with the whole body of ancient theology, they place the *jñâna*, the transcendental science, the knowledge of the mysteries of God.¹ The pious legends, the *purâṇas*, which record the actions and manifestations of the gods, are only the veil that conceals a higher truth which the believer must penetrate. From this point of view the epic fable has been reconstructed in special works, such as the *Adhyâtma Râmâyana*, "the spiritual Râmâyana," in which all the events in the history of Râmâ are resolved into the divine order.² Side by side with the abstract doctrine there was thus formed in the majority of the sects ■ allegorical doctrine, a gnosis or ■ mystic interpretation of their legend, which

■ Bhagavad Gitâ, iv. 40-42; vii. part of the *Brahmâṇḍa Purâṇa*. See the analysis of it given by Aufrecht, Oxford Catalogue, pp. 28, 29.

was regarded as far superior to the simple philosophy. Among the Pâñcarâtras, for instance, Kṛishṇa was the supreme *âtman*; his brother, Balarâma, was the *jîva*, the individual soul; his son, Pradyumna, represented the *manas*, perceptive sense; and Aniruddha, his grandson, the *ahamkâra*, self-consciousness. In like manner, the amours of Kṛishṇa and the shepherdesses become, among the Vishnuites, the allegorical expression of the relations of the soul with God. In this the sects only applied a method which may be traced back as far as the Veda, and of which the Buddhists and the Jainas have likewise made extensive use. But where they part company, both with the ancient theosophy and modern orthodoxy, such as it has been formulated by Çaṅkara, and in general from the doctrine common to all the *darśanas*, is when they subordinate this science to a psychical fact of a totally different nature, viz., *bhakti*, i.e., "faith, humble submission, absolute devotion, love for God," without which science is either vain or impossible. It is *bhakti* which enlightens the soul, which alone can render the exercises of meditation and asceticism productive of fruit.¹ Or rather it dispenses with these; for to him who possesses it, all the rest is given over and above.² It addresses itself, not to the god of the learned and the philosophers, but to the manifestation of God that is most accessible, most at hand; among the Vishnuites, for instance, not to Viṣṇu or to Paramâtmā, but to Kṛishṇa, to God made man, who makes answer by his grace (*anugraha*, *prasāda*), or who has rather made answer beforehand, when, condescending to clothe his ineffable and inconceivable majesty in a sensible form, he thus permitted the humblest to love him, and to give himself to him even before knowing him.³ That was a new idea. The Veda was familiar with *Āradhā*, that is, the trust of a man in his gods; and in some Upanishads (the Kāṭha-Upanishad, Muṇḍaka-Upa-

¹ Bhagavad Gītā, xvii. 28.

² Bhāgavata Purāṇa, xi. 20, 31-34.

³ Bhagavad Gītā, xii. 5-8.

nishad¹), occurs an old expression implying very clearly the notion of grace. But all antiquity had in the end resolved religion into matter of knowledge, either rational, intuitive, or revealed; the sects resolved it into matter of feeling. Thus the novelty of this doctrine early led to the hypothesis of a foreign influence, of ■ plagiarism more or less direct from Christianity.² This first hypothesis suggested others. The legend of the Mahâbhârata was recalled to mind, in which it was said that Nârada, and before him other mythical personages, had visited the Çvetadvîpa, or "the White Island," and had there fallen in with a race of perfect men, endowed with pre-eminent faith in the only Bhagavat; and it was surmised that there was here the reminiscence of relations long ago between the Brahmans and Alexandrian Christianity.³ It was remarked that in the epic this doctrine seemed to be connected more specially with Vishnuism; that the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*, where it is fully expounded, and the *Bhakti-Sûtras*, where it is systematically formulated, belong to the religion of Kṛishṇa, which was, more than any other, ■ religion of love. Stress was laid on the monotheistic character of this religion, on the analogy which there is between the theory of the Avatâras and that of the Incarnation,⁴ on the curious similarities which exist between the legend of Jesus and that of Kṛishṇa, in which occur, with more or fewer points of similarity, the pastoral scenes of the nativity, the adoration of the shepherds and the magi, the flight into Egypt, the massacre of the Innocents, the miracles connected with the Infancy, the Temptation and the Transfiguration, and all that in connection with ■ god whose very name has ■ certain affinity in sound with that of Christ. Attention was called to certain ceremonies of

¹ Kâtha Upanishad, ii. 23; Mundaka Upanishad, iii. 2, 3. See *supra*, p. 74.

² H. H. Wilson, *Select Works*, vol. i. p. 161, and *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, preface, p. xiv. ed. Hall.

³ A. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, vol. i. p. 400; ii. p. 168. See Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.*, ii. 1118, 2d ed.

⁴ A. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, ii. 169, 409.

the later Krishnaism, to its festival of the nativity, to the worship of the infant Krishna, represented ■ on the lap or the bosom of his mother in a *gokula* or stable. In this way an imposing array of facts was collected together, tending to prove, first, that the appearance in India of ■ religion of faith and love was an event of purely Christian origin, and, secondly, that Christianity exercised an influence of greater or less account on the worship and myth of Krishna.

We think we have faithfully summarised the principal arguments in favour of this theory, which in its scientific form belongs almost entirely to Prof. Weber, and which that scholar has developed from time to time with an erudition and critical power to which it would be impossible to render adequate homage.¹ As it is of such importance, we must ask our readers to bear with us for a little while we explain, as briefly as we can, why the theory does not satisfy us. *Bhakti* appears to us to be the necessary complement of a religion that has reached a certain stage of monotheism. It will be all the more active the less this monotheism happens to be a direct product of speculation, and the more concrete and human the nature of the god may be that is the object of worship. It will appear either as love or as a gloomy enthusiasm, according as the deity worshipped is an object of love or an object of terror. If several kindred religions of this nature happen to exist side by side, it will be full of zeal. This being so, we have only to ask ourselves whether India had to wait until the arrival of Christianity, in order, on the one hand, to acquire monotheistic ideas, and, on the other, to apply these ideas to such popular gods as Çiva and Krishna? To answer No—which we for our part do not hesitate to do—is to confess that this *bhakti* is explicable ■ ■ native fact, which was quite as capable of realising itself in India ■

¹ In the most thorough style in his learned memoir, *Ueber die Krishna-janmāshtami* (Krishna's Geburts-Fest), *Memoirs of the Academy of Berlin*, 1867, p. 217 seq.

it has done elsewhere in its own time, and independently of all Christian influence, in the religions of Osiris, Adonis, Cybele, and Bacchus. We by no means wish to represent ancient India as a world apart, with no communication with the world beyond; and although the legend of Çvetadvîpa, the Albion of Wilford, Alexandria, or Asia Minor, according to Prof. Weber, appears to us a purely fanciful relation, we admit that it is quite possible that Brahmans long ago visited the Churches of the East. At all events, the Buddhists penetrated into those parts, and might fetch them accounts of them; for there were at that time no impassable barriers between Buddhists and Brahmans. In India itself, moreover, there certainly were Christians, and probably Christian Churches, before the redaction of the Mahâbhârata was quite finished.¹ It is not, therefore, on the possibility of plagiarism, but on the fact itself as asserted, that our objections bear. The dogma of faith is not imported as an ordinary doctrine or custom is; it does not admit of being detached from one religion and grafted on another at a distance; practically it is blended with the faith itself, and, like it, inseparable from the god that inspires it. Now, Weber does not mean to assert that in Krishna, in whom there is no trace either of the dogma of redemption or the accounts of the passion, the true source and substance of the Christian faith, India ever paid divine honours to Jesus. He does not seek to represent Krishnaism as a distorted form of Christianity, something similar to what the religion of the Taipings in China is in our day.² The Hindu god would never have ceased to be himself; there would only have been ascribed to him, besides the dogma of faith, a certain number of Christian endowments; in other words, they would have appropriated

¹ On the origin of the churches of St. Thomas — Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.*, ii. 1119, 2d. ed., A. C. Burnell and R. Collins in *Ind. Antiq.*, iii. 308; iv. 153, 183, 311; v. 25.

² M. F. Lorinser has gone so far

into this subject in *Die Bhagavad Gîtâ übersetzt und erläutert*, 1869. He arrives at the singular conclusion that the author of the Hindu poem was well read in the Gospels and the Christian Fathers.

the soul of Christianity without Christ. In our opinion there is here ■ certain contradiction ; but be that ■ it may, even in regard to these subordinate plagiarisms, we cannot without reserve accept the conclusions of Weber. The theory of the Avatâras appears to us to be ■ purely Indian one. It was probably formulated in connection with Kṛishṇa (and in this we perhaps go farther than Weber), but the germ of it occurs in ancient fable. It is in harmony with the vague distinction assumed in India to exist between God and man, and it must, as it were, of itself have developed from the Vedantic idea of the immanence of deity, of which it is in a way only an application to particular cases. We have already indicated elsewhere the analogy that exists between it and the theory of the successive apparitions of Buddha, and this last appears to have been conceived prior to our era, since we find it figuring in the bas-reliefs of Barahout. We cannot stop here to examine one by one the other resemblances that have been traced between these two legends, curious as they certainly are. Several, such as the prodigies connected with the Infancy and the Transfiguration, appear not unnaturally in the biography of one who is preconceived as a man-god. But the rest is of a character so peculiar that we are very much constrained to admit that there is a body of common relations which have contributed form and colouring to both. Only, be it remarked, these relations correspond to the most obviously legendary elements in the life of Christ;¹ that they are to be found more or less elsewhere in other biographies of the gods among the Hīndus—for instance, in that of Buddha ; that the traditions which refer to Kāṃsa, the Indian Herod, are certainly of a date anterior to our era ;³ that the pastoral scenes connected with the infancy of Kṛishṇa,

¹ The resemblances become particularly striking when we refer to the apocryphal Gospels, especially the Gospel of the Infancy, which was in great repute all over Asia

See E. Renan, *L'Eglise Chrétienne*, p. 515.

³ See Bhandarkar, *Allusions to Kṛishṇa in Patañjali's Mahābhāshya*,

and the idea of assigning to him ■ stable as his cradle, are connected in a thousand ways with the most ancient representations of the Veda. With these manifold coincidences before us, we feel we are in contact with an old mythical foundation, in relation to which the question of direct borrowing becomes a complex one, and respects only insignificant details. Perhaps the most obvious trace of such borrowing is found in certain peculiarities particularised by Weber in reference to the festival of the nativity of Kṛishṇa, especially in the images in which Devakî is represented as suckling her son, and which seem to have been really copied from similar representations in Christian iconography. But even here the myth is an ancient one, and, on the other hand, the idea of celebrating the birth of the divine child, and of associating with the worship of him on that occasion the worship of his mother, must have suggested itself so naturally that the probability of borrowing extends no further than to the representation. Devakî does not occupy a very prominent place in the religion of her son (besides, it is in the Çivaite religion of Skanda that the part of goddess-mother is more especially developed); her nearest relation is the Mâyâ Devî, the mother of Buddha, and there is nothing to justify us in regarding the modest and very occasional acts of homage paid to her as a Hindu version of the worship of the Virgin.

The discussion of the counter-thesis, which has long engrossed almost exclusive attention, that of the profound influence which India has had on the doctrines and religions of the West, is outside the limits of the present work. It is well, however, to observe that here, too, it has become necessary to soften down the hypotheses that were at first adopted. The opinions of the neo-Platonists, the Gnostics, and the Manicheans, the spirit of asceticism and the institutions of monasticism, are no longer represented as proceeding indiscriminately from the banks of the Ganges. In spite of the manifold confessions which the

Grecian world has left us of the curiosity it felt to know the mysteries of the extreme East, it appears to have been rather in quest of matter that would justify and illustrate its own peculiar tendencies. The Church, probably by means of the Buddhists, borrowed from India ■ small number of legends and external practices, such as the ■ of the bell at the services and that of the rosary (these two practices being common to the majority of the Hindu religions and sects, and appearing to be, the one of Buddhist origin, the other of Çivaite, perhaps Brahmanic); but it has not been indebted to it either for its speculations on the Logos or the doctrine of the Trinity, nor in general for any one of those doctrines the borrowing of which would be equivalent to a species of conversion. For ■ stronger reason we incline to think that this must have been the case with India, which, in the matter of religion, has never confessed herself under obligation to the West, and whose professed ignorance in regard to foreign matters, whatever reason there may be to distrust it, cannot be entirely put to the credit of dissimulation. To sum up, we believe that the traces of a Christian influence on the myth of Kṛishṇa are highly problematic; that they do not with any clearness appear till much later in certain peculiarities of worship; and that at any rate this influence has told on points of such secondary importance that the Christian derivation of the doctrine and the sentiment of faith, such as they have developed in the sectarian religions, must be set aside as absolutely improbable.¹

Bhakti, to which we now return after this long digression, has always for its immediate object the divine being, conceived, or rather represented, under the most

¹ In regard to this whole question of the ancient effects of Christianity ■ the religion of India, the reader will consult with advantage the highly exhaustive and impartial *résumé* given by Dr. J. Muir in the Introduction to his *Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers*, 1879

(compare *Rev. Critique*, October 30, 1875, p. 275); and C. P. Tiele, *Christus ■ Kṛishṇa*, in the *Theolog. Tijdschr.*, 1877, No. 1, p. 63. On the side of Professor Weber stands F. Nève, *Des Elements Etrangers du Mythe et du Culte de Kṛishṇa*, 1876.

definite form, and with attributes the most personal. It addresses itself less to Vishnu than to Kṛishṇa or Râma, less to Çiva than Bhairava, or some other of his manifestations. It has thus proved one of the most efficient causes in breaking up the sects. As early as the Mahâbhârata there are obscure allusions to ■ false Vâsudeva (Vâsudeva signifying son of Vasudeva, that is to say, Kṛishṇa-Vishnu), who is called the Vâsudêva of the Pundras, ■ tribe of Bengal.¹ On the other hand, notwithstanding its spiritualistic leanings, it has developed into idolatrous forms. By reason of its attempts to define the deity it has confounded him sometimes with his image; and just as it has distinguished between different forms of the same divinity, it comes at length to distinguish between different images of the same form. It has predilections for particular localities. In the popular songs, for instance, care is often taken to state exactly, while appending the name of the sanctuary, to what Hari or Hara the *bhakta*, or devotee,² regards himself ■ belonging; and it is difficult to say in this case whether it is the god or his idol that is the object of worship.

Considered at first as a simple fact, which it was enough to affirm without other explanation, it was not long before it was subjected to analysis. Different degrees and different shades were discovered in it. A distinction was drawn between *çânti*, quiet repose, calm and contemplative piety, and *dâsatva*, the slave state, surrender of the whole will to God, and between this last and different degrees of the active sentiment of love, such as *sâkhyâ*, friendship, *vâtsalya*, filial affection, and *mâdhurya*, ecstatic susceptibility;³ these last shades being peculiar rather to the Vishnuites, but appearing also among certain peculiarly spiritualistic Çivaite sects, such as the Tamîl Sittars, who say in one of their collections, "The ignorant think that God and love are

¹ Mahâbhârata, i. 6992; ii. 583, 1096, 1270. The Agni Purâna (xii. 29) identifies him with King Jarâsânda.

■ See F. Kittel in Ind. Antiq., ii. 307; iv. 20.

³ H. H. Wilson, Select Works, vol. i. p. 163.

different; none see that they are one. If all men knew that God and love were one, they would live towards each other in peace, regarding love ■ God himself.”¹ In its highest sense it is synonymous with *yoga*, the mystic union in which the soul feels that “it is in God, and that God is in it.”² At the same time there reappears, from a new point of view, however, a very old theory, that of the kind of acts which are adapted to develop and nourish it, such ■ the practice of observances and worship, spiritual exercises, contemplation, an ascetic life, each sect having its own standard for estimating the importance of these acts, some, such as the Râmânujas (Vishnuites) and the Smârtas (Çivaïtes), attaching a great value to attention to minutiae in the observances; others, such as the Râmânandis (Vishnuites) and the Liṅgâyits (Çivaïtes), affecting more or less to despise these; the Vaishṇavas inclining in general to idealism and meditation; the Çaïvas devoting themselves more to observances and mortifications. But these acts are only aids to *bhakti*; they do not generate it. It is a primal fact, existing prior to knowledge. “He who has faith,” says the Bhagavad Gîtâ, “attains to science.”³ So that at its origin at least it is either an *a priori* act of the will or ■ gift of God.

In this way the sects were led to elaborate the doctrine of grace, to which, on the other hand, the speculations on the divine omnipotence and omnipresence also led up. We have already seen the opposite interpretations to which this doctrine was subjected in the metaphysics of Çiçaism. We meet with the same diversity of view, only still more pronounced, among the adherents of Vishnuism. All the Vaishṇavas ascribe in the main the initiative in grace to God. In incarnating himself the deity anticipates human weakness, and the theory of the Avatâras presupposes that

¹ R. Caldwell, Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, Introd, p. 147, 2d ed. It is proper to remark, however, that the word which Caldwell renders by “God,”

çivam, it would be perhaps more correct to translate by “salvation.”

² Bhagavad Gîtâ, ix. 29; Nârada Pañcarâtra, i. 36.

³ iv. 39.

of exterior operations of grace, or prevenient grace. But on the question of interior operations of grace they are divided, some recognising here only the irresistible and free action of God, others admitting the co-operation of man in the work of salvation. It was especially among the sects that arose out of the reform of Râmânuja that this controversy assumed such importance. Agreeably to Hindu habits of thought, each opinion was formulated in a figurate argument. Those on the one side held by the *argument from the cat*; God, they said, seizes the soul and saves it, just as a cat carries away its little ones far from danger. Those on the other side appealed to the *argument from the monkey*; the soul, they said, seizes hold of God and saves itself by him, just as the young one of the monkey escapes from danger by clinging on to the side of its mother. These questions gave rise to many others: How can God, if he is just and good, resolve to choose? How, if he is all-powerful, can there be an action outside of his? Are faith and grace, when once obtained, capable of being forfeited? From these questions, but for the tinge of local colouring, we could sometimes fancy ourselves transported into the heart of the Western world, and in the midst of controversies between Arminians and Gomarists. But we are very soon brought back into India when we see that this grace is immediately personified in Lakshmî or Râdhâ, and that the very theologians who discuss these positions are often in close affinity with the Çâktas.

The more the doctrine of *bhakti* is developed in this way the more it becomes extravagant. From being the first and indispensable condition of salvation, it by degrees becomes the only one. A single act of faith, a single sincere invocation of the name of God, cancels a whole life of iniquity and crime. Hence the importance attached as early as the Bhagavad Gîtâ¹ to the *last thought*, and the idea of attaining complete possession of this thought by

¹ viii. 5 ; 6 ; 13.

an act of suicide, of throwing one's self into the fire after being translated to a state of grace, or drowning one's self in some sacred river. Hence, too, that maxim, which has been fatal to so many mystic sects, that the acts of the true devotee, of the *bhakta*, are indifferent, and that the man who has once experienced the effects of grace, whatever he may do, can sin no longer. From one exaggeration to another, *bhakti* came at length to be sublated. As the result of ascribing the most surprising results to a minimum of intention, they came at length not to require any intention at all. In the Purânas it is enough, even in the case of the greatest criminal, when at the point of death, to pronounce by chance some syllables forming one of the names of Vishnu or Çiva, in order to attain salvation. In the Nârada Pañcarâtra, one of the books which displays most enthusiasm in professing the doctrine of *bhakti*, a Brahman of no great faith, after having unsuspectingly partaken of the remains of some consecrated food and given some of it to his wife, is himself eaten up by a tiger; the wife burns herself on the funeral pile of her husband, and the three participants, the Brahman, his wife, and the tiger, being purified by this unconscious act of communion, go straight to *goloka*, "the world of the cows," or the supreme heaven of Kṛishṇa.¹

With these fanatical doctrines there is closely connected another characteristic feature of Hinduism, and the most noteworthy novelty, perhaps, in connection with the historic sects—the deification, namely, of the *guru*, forerunner, which almost always involves the duty of absolute devotion to the person of the existing *gurus*, who are the heirs of his powers either through blood or consecration. In the Brahmanism of antiquity, homage is paid to the holy men of ancient times, to the inspired founders of the school to which the worshipper belongs, and the most imperative directions are given in regard to the immediate *guru* or spiritual preceptor. The latter is more than a father;

¹ Nârada Pañcarâtra, ii. 69-77.

the pupil owes to him ■ perfect obedience (*ṣuṣrūṣhā*) during the entire term of his novitiate, and a pious regard to the end of his days.¹ But he owes him nothing further, and his apprenticeship once terminated, he expects nothing more from him.² In the neo-Brahmanic religions, these relations appear to have continued for long nearly the same; the ancient sects, at least, are all without the founder's name. From the twelfth century, on the contrary, the founder rises to the rank of Buddha or Jina; he becomes what the Prophet or the Imams are for the Moslem, a revealer, a supernatural saviour. He is confounded with the god of whom he is an incarnation. Like him, he is entitled to *bhakti*; and if the sect admits of a traditional hierarchy, his successors share more or less in the same privilege. Rāmānuja, Rāmānanda, Anandatīrtha, Basava, and many others who established subordinate divisions, or who have been distinguished ■ saints or poets, were from an early date regarded ■ Avatāras of the deity, whether Viṣṇu or Śiva. Caitanya, Vallabhācārya, Nānak, and the majority of the reformers of more recent times, were treated as such during their lifetime. The most orthodox Vedāntins themselves claim ■ much in the end for Ṣaṅkara; and even in our own time, the chief of the Smārtas of Ṣṛīṅgeri, in Mysore, who is reputed to have succeeded to his *gaddi*, or seat, assumes the title of *jagadguru*, or “guru of the world,” to which is attached the attribute of infallibility.³ Thus in certain sects there was instituted a sort of Lamaism, which imparted to them no small consistency and stability. But with others not so well organised or so well favoured by circumstances, the fanatical worship of the *guru* was ■ much a principle of division as of discipline. Secessions

¹ Aṣvalāy. Gr. S., iii. 4; 4; Apastamba Dh. S., i. 1, 13-17; Manu, ii. 146, 148; Nirukta, ii. 4 (= Manu, ii. 144; Saṃhitopanishadbr., iii.).

² Apastamba Dh. S., i. 13, 5; 18-21. The case, however, in which

the pupil might prefer to remain all his life with the *guru* is not unprovided for: Gautama, iii. 5; Manu, ii. 243, 244.

³ A. C. Burnell, *Vaṃṣabrahmaṇa*, Pref., p. xiii.

began to multiply no longer on questions of doctrine but on questions respecting persons; divine honours were bestowed with extreme facility; and communities, sprung from the same sect, connected with the same founder, but at variance only in regard to the choice of an immediate chief, who was deified in his turn, were as profoundly divided at times as others who worshipped different gods. We shall see by and by to what extremes certain branches of Hinduism were led by this superstition. Here we shall only add that, side by side with these novel applications of *bhakti*, theology retired into the background, and was simplified to a singular degree. Authority, instead of resting, as of old, on a more or less fanciful agreement with immemorial tradition, came now to reside entirely in the word merely of the *guru*. Thus we see the majority of the new sects almost as careful to define their origin as those of former times were to disguise theirs. The sects did not always abjure the ancient sacred literature, and the Vedas, the Purâṇas, the epics, &c., retained in general the halo of sanctity which of old belonged to them. But the books of the sect that emanated directly or indirectly from the *guru* were no longer deduced from them. For want of such writings every kind of sacred code came to be dispensed with, and thus among several sects we see this old feature of the religions of India completely disappearing, that they were, as was the boast, "religions of the book."

Finally, it is chiefly owing to the undue importance assigned to *bhakti* that Vishnuism gradually lost sight of the heroic side of its legends; that it preferred to fall back upon the idyllic episodes in the history of Kṛishṇa and Râma; that it made divine love speak more and more the language of human passion, and that it became at length an erotic religion. This tendency is visible in several Purâṇas; it was expressed with singular effect in the Bhâgavata, which, translated as it is into most of the

dialects, Aryan as well as Dravidian, of India, contributed more than any other writing to spread it; and it appeared with still more intensity in the popular adaptations of this work, such as the Hindî *Premśāgar*,¹ the "Ocean of Love," the spirit of which is amply enough indicated by the mere title. The joyful and tender idyll of the groves of Vṛindâvan became a mystic romance of the relations of the soul with God, and a principal source of nourishment to piety. The enthusiasm of faith and the inexhaustible liberality of grace found their symbol in the sensual ardour of the Gopîs, and in the eagerness of the deity to respond to them, and to give himself entirely to all at once. Or else in those same amours to which Kṛishṇa surrenders himself, but which cannot make him forget Râdhâ, the true object of his affections, we have a picture of the wanderings of the soul (for Kṛishṇa is also the universal soul), and the ineffable blessedness which it experiences when, restored to itself and yielding to the invitations of grace, it throws itself into the arms of God. These descriptions, which have never been distinguished for moral purity,² soon became licentious. In the lyric drama of the Bengalese poet Jayadeva, in the twelfth century, entitled *Gîtagovinda*,³ or the "Song of the Shepherd" (*Govinda*, shepherd, is an epithet of Kṛishṇa), which has been often compared with the Song of Songs, and which recalls also certain productions of Sufism, the sensual delirium defies all translation; and we do not know which is more astounding, the lewdness of imagination or the devout frenzy which have inspired these burning stanzas.

This erotic mysticism has, with few exceptions, infected nearly all the branches of Vishnuism, the religions of

¹ It has been edited several times, by E. Eastwick among others, 1851.

² See Hauvette-Besnault, *Panchâdhyâyi, ou les Cinq Chapitres des Amours de Cricṇa avec les Gopîs, extrait du Bhâgavata Purâna*, livre

x., in *Journal Asiatique*, vol. v., 5th ser., 1865.

³ Often edited, by Lassen among others, "*Gîtagovinda, Jayadevæ Poetæ Indici Drama Lyricum*," with a Latin translation, 1836.

Râma as well ■ those of Kṛishṇa. But it has manifested itself in ■ peculiarly intense fashion among two new sects which arose about the same time, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, in Northern India. One of these, which prevails most in the Eastern districts, had for its founder a Brahman of Nadiyâ in Bengal, ■ poor enthusiastic visionary, known by the surname of Caitanya,¹ who proclaimed himself to be an incarnation of Kṛishṇa, and who is revered as such by his followers. His principal disciples, in particular his own brother Nityânand, and Advaitânand, another Brahman, who appears to have taken ■ leading part in the formation of the sect, are likewise accepted as having been manifestations of the deity. ✓ Their descendants, who occupy the first rank among the *gosains*,² doctors, all inherited this sacred character, and continue to the present time the principal centre of authority in the sect. This last, however, professes very little of a dogmatic nature, especially in Bengal, where it draws its recruits indiscriminately from the lowest castes, faithful in this respect to the example of Caitanya, who gathered about himself people of every birth, and even Mussulmans.³ { The *bhakti* of Kṛishṇa, Râdhâ, and Caitanya, and the superstitious respect for the *guru*, which has been carried to the extent of worship, constitute nearly the entire creed of these popular communities. ✓ Like all the Vishnuites, they entertain a devout regard for the sanctuary of Jagannâtha in Orissa, and those of Mathurâ, the birthplace of Kṛishṇa, where the principal *gosains* reside. But the essential act of their peculiar worship is the *kîrtan*, "the glorification," which they celebrate in common, and in which, by means of long-drawn litanies and hymns,

¹ One of the terms used to denote the supreme intelligence.

² *Gosain*, in Sanskrit *gosvâmin*, "possessor of cows," which, like all the words signifying "shepherd," is also one of Kṛishṇa's names, denotes in general one who professes the life of ■ religious; it is applied,

over, in a special sense, ■ well among Vishnuites as Civaïtes, to the members of certain brotherhoods.

■ The author of the *Dabistân* (ii. 185, 193) bears testimony in ■ general way to the tolerant spirit of the sects of the Vishnuite Vairâgîna.

mingled with dances, and sometimes followed by a kind of love-feast, they rival each other in the excited worship they pay to the Shepherd of Vrindâvan. These hymns, or *padas*, in Hindî and in ancient Bengali, several of which date from a period prior to the time of Caitanya, and which, with certain biographies of the founder, constitute their true literature, are all erotic, and almost all licentious.¹ It is not surprising, therefore, that the moral standard among this sect should be rather low. What is much more surprising is, that it has not sunk still lower into practices absolutely immoral. The higher classes, in Bengal at least, spurn it;² in the upper provinces, where it is composed of better elements, it is held in more esteem, and reckons among its adherents individuals of influence and education.

The other sect, founded, like that of Caitanya, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, originated with Vallabhâcârya, a Brahman, who was born in the district of Campâran, on the borders of Nepâl, and was of a family of Southern extraction. After long travels, he took up his residence at Gokula, on the Jumna, amidst the very scenes where the infancy of Krishna was passed. This sect is therefore commonly called, after the name of its chiefs, the *Gokulastha Gosains*, or the "Saints of Gokula." The forty-eight disciples of Vallabhâcârya disseminated its principles in the different districts of the Peninsula; but its followers are most numerous in Hindostan and the Presidency of Bombay. Without scorning the inferior castes,

¹ J. Beames has given specimens of this literature in *Ind. Antiq.*, i. 215, 323; ii. i. 37. The reader will find others in "The Literature of Bengal, being an Attempt to trace the Progress of the National Mind in its various Aspects, as reflected in the Nation's Literature," by Ar. Cy Dae, Calcutta, 1877. The only blemish of this charming little work is that it puts too favourable a construction upon things. Among the works which belong, in a more general way,

to the Vishnuite literature of Bengal, the *Caitanyacandrodaya*, or "the rising of the moon of Caitanya," a glorification in the form of a drama of the founder of the sect, has been edited by Râjendralâla Mitra in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.

² Interesting particulars will be found on the present state of the Caitanyas of Bengal and Orissa in W. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, *passim*, principally in vol. xix, p. 50 *seq.*

its ranks are largely recruited from the well-to-do classes ; one-half, for instance, of the rich merchants of Bombay belong to it. Its *gosains*, or doctors, very few of whom live in retreat or celibacy, are themselves often bankers or merchants, and they take advantage of an unsettled mode of life, which leads them from sanctuary to sanctuary, from one end of India to another, to combine the pursuits of business with those of piety. In short, the supreme authorities of the sect, the direct descendants of Vallabhâcârya, who by themselves alone form a numerous tribe (being divided into seven principal branches, each branch sprung from one of the seven grandsons of the founder), are almost all people of influence, even outside the circle of their faithful followers, who live in opulence, and whose right to the pompous title of Mahârâja is conceded without challenge. Vallabhâcârya appears to have been better than an ordinary mystic. He is one of the authorities of the Vedânta, on which he has left several treatises, written in the idealistic spirit of the Advaita ; and he gave proof of no small intellectual strength and courage in daring openly to repudiate the theories of asceticism in a country where the most sensual doctrines usually affect the language of renunciation. He taught that to renounce well-being was to insult the deity, and that worship ought to be celebrated with expressions of joy. His adherents to-day are but little taken up with the Vedânta, and Epicureanism is only the least of their faults. To whatever extent they may have gone beyond the lessons of their masters, they are in point of fact one of the most corrupt sects in India. Of the writings of their founder they have preserved little, except his commentary on the Bhâgavata Purâna, the tenth book in which, the most erotic of the whole, constitutes, along with the Premsâgar, nearly the whole body of the literature they possess that is intended to edify. Like the Caitanyas, they worship the Shepherd of Vrindâvan, the lover of Râdhâ, and the Gopîs : and, by a refinement of morbid

piety, they represent him with the features of a child, as *Bâla Gopâl*, *Bâla Lâl*, "the Little Shepherd," "the Little Darling." They surround his images with a worship which, in public as well ■ private, is attentive to external punctilios, and to which women especially address themselves with enthusiastic fervour. Like the Vaishnavas of Bengal, they seek opportunities of exciting their enthusiasm in common, but they do this in a manner still more questionable; and their *râsmaṇḍalis*, which they celebrate among themselves, in imitation of the gambols of Kṛishṇa and the Gopîs, display extreme licentiousness. No sect has carried the idolatrous worship of the *guru* so far. All the descendants of Vallabhâcârya, whether personally estimable or not, are worshipped as incarnations of Kṛishṇa. The saliva which they eject while chewing the betel-nut, the water which they have used to wash their feet, are greedily swallowed by the faithful.¹ These last owe to them the triple *samarpaṇa*, the threefold surrender of *tan*, *man*, *dhan*, body, mind, and fortune; and for the women of the sect it is the greatest of blessings to be distinguished by them and to serve their pleasure. A score of years ago the single Presidency of Bombay could reckon up about seventy of these men-gods, and a *procès célèbre* before the High Court in 1861 supplied evidence to show that they are not slack in asserting their prerogatives.²

Like all the branches of Hinduism, these sects are in their turn subdivided into smaller. Even among that of the Vallabhâcâryas, which is one of the most compact, there are groups which are not in communion with the rest of the community. Of the dissentients, some are connected with a movement for reform, while others even go beyond the principal sect in extravagance. Such,

¹ These practices, which recall those of Tibetan Lamaism, ■ also met with among other sects: Dabistân, ii. 112; Ind. Antiq., viii. 292.

■ The pleadings in this case, with

■ history of the sect prefixed, are recorded in the anonymous work, History of the Sect of Mahârâjas or Vallabhâcâryas in Western India, 1865.

among the Caitanyas, ■ the *Kartābhājs*, "the faithful ones of the Creator," who originated at the close of the last century, and who recognise no other god than the *guru*.¹ Such, moreover, are the *Rādhāvallabhīs*, who date from the end of the sixteenth century, and worship Krishna, so far as he is the lover of Rādhā; and the *Sakhībhāvas*, "those who identify themselves with the Friend" (fem.), that is to say, with Rādhā, who have adopted the costume, manners, and occupations of women.² These two last sects are in reality Vishnuite Çāktas, among whom we must also rank a great many individuals, and even entire communities, of the Caitanyas, the Vallabhācāryas, and the Rāmānandīs. Like the Çivaite Çāktas, they have observances of the *left hand*, which they keep secret. They have special Tantras, of which little is yet known; the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, which is better known, belongs radically to the same literature.³

It is not difficult to understand the mischief which these impure beliefs must have at length produced. It would be to display great ignorance, however, of the immense resources of the religious sentiment to presume that the effect of these must have been necessarily and universally demoralising. The common people have a certain safeguard in the very grossness of their superstition; and among the higher ranks there are many souls that are at once mystically inclined and pure-hearted who know how to extract the honey of pure love from this strange mixture of obscenities. That is a touching legend, for instance, of that young queen of Udayapura, a contemporary of Akbar (in the end of the sixteenth century), Mīrā Bāī, who renounced her throne and her husband rather than abjure Krishna, and who, when close pressed by her persecutors, went and threw herself at the feet of the image

¹ On this sect ■ Hunter, Statistical Account of Bengal, i. 73; ii. 53. ■ in the seventeenth century: Dabistān, ii. pp. 182, 185.

² They appear to have been numerous. ³ See particularly the analysis of the fourth section, the Krishnakhaṇḍa, in Aufrecht's Catalogue, pp. 26-27.

of her god, exclaiming, "I have abandoned my love, my wealth, my kingdom, my husband. Mîrâ, thy servant, comes to thee, her refuge; oh, take her wholly to thyself! If thou knowest me to be free from every stain, accept me. Except thee, no other will have compassion on me; pity me, therefore. Lord of Mîrâ, her well beloved, accept her, and grant that she be no more parted from thee for ever!" Upon this the image opened, and Mîrâ Bâi disappeared in its sides.¹ The worship of her, associated with that of her god, gave rise to a new sect, that probably sprang originally from the Vallabhâcâryas, and which subsists still under her name. All these religions, besides, reckon up their severe moralists, who, without breaking with their sect, more or less repudiate its doctrines and practices, whether, retired from the world, they lead the devotee life of the *Vairâgins* ("free from passions," the most common designation of the Vishnuite Sannyâsins), or whether, along with their family, at times with some neighbours, they form little groups in which a profession is made of a more enlightened piety and Puritan tendencies. Whenever this circle goes on enlarging, it gradually expands into an independent community. In this way, for instance, arose among the Caitanyas the *Spashthadâyakas*, who recognise no *guru*, and live in convents, men and women together, under the same roof, in the practice of celibacy and chastity. So also among the Vallabhâcâryas the *Carandâsîs* arose, being founded towards the middle of the last century by a merchant of Delhi, Caran Dâs, and his sister Sahaji Bâi; as well as among the Râmânandis, a whole swarm of small sects, of which a pretty considerable number exists still. All these communities are less distinguished for novelty in dogma than for a certain tendency to pietism and austerity of life.

¹ H. H. Wilson, *Select Works*, vol. i. p. 138.

HINDUISM.

III. REFORMING SECTS.

Kabir-Panthis and other sects sprung from the reforming movement of Kabir.—Mussulman influence.—The Sikhs: Nānak and his successors the Gurus.—Guru Arjun and the Adigranth.—Guru Govind and the Holy War.—The Sikh state.—End of Sikh independence: their cultus and principal divisions.—New sects still forming in India.

ALONGSIDE of these somewhat timid protestations, others of a bolder and more uncompromising type were being constantly put forth, one of which, at least, proved highly successful, and all of which, even those which had few direct adherents, exercised a wholesome influence in the midst of the confusion. Combined with what of good remained from the old traditions of the country, these acted on Hinduism as a sort of leaven, which prevented it from decaying by stagnation and corrupting altogether. The most perfect representative, perhaps, of this reforming movement was Kabir, or, as his disciples, who revere in him an incarnation of the deity, also surname him, Jñānin, "the One who has Knowledge, the Seer." So little is known of a positive kind in regard to this remarkable man, that some have gone so far as to doubt his existence.¹ The most probable hypothesis is that he was born at Benares, and was of the weaver caste; that he was a Vairāgin of the sect of Rāmānanda perhaps, as tradition surmises, an immediate disciple of that master, and that he taught at the beginning of the fifteenth century (the legend making him live three hundred years, from 1149 to 1449).

■ H. H. Wilson, *Select Works*, vol. i. p. 69.

Kabîr has left no writings, but his sect possesses pretty numerous collections in Hindi, the composition of which is, with more or less reason, ascribed to his first disciples, in which are preserved a great number of the *sayings* of the master, forming at times pieces to some extent in verse, as well as dialogues, reproducing controversies, which are in part certainly imaginary, and in which he is the chief interlocutor. In these teachings of his, Kabîr sets himself against the whole body of Hindu superstitions. He rejects and ridicules the Çâstras and the Purâṇas; he severely chastises the arrogance and hypocrisy of the Brahmans; he rejects every malevolent distinction of caste, religion, and sect. All who love God and do good are brothers, be they Hindus or Musulmans. Idolatry, and everything which approaches to it or may suggest it, is severely condemned; the temple ought to be only a house of prayer. He tolerates among his disciples neither practices that ■ too demonstrative, nor singularities of costume, nor any of those external marks which are the distinctive badges of the Hindu sects, and which serve only to divide men. Yet, not to scandalise a neighbour, he enjoins on them conformity to usage in indifferent matters. He recommends renunciation and a contemplative life; but he demands, above all, moral purity, and does not restrict it to one particular kind of life. All authority in the matter of faith and morals belongs to the *guru*; yet obedience to his commands must not be blind obedience, and ■ reservation is expressly made on behalf of the rights of conscience of the believer.

Of these features, taken separately, there are not many which we do not meet with again more or less elsewhere in the past history of the sectarian religions; but the whole is new, and singularly recalls the quietism of the Moslem. This resemblance has been recognised in India itself; the Mohammedans claim Kabîr as one of themselves, and among the Hindus there is a widespread

tradition which represents him as ■ converted Mussulman. One thing is certain, that Kabîr was much occupied with Islam. His aim obviously was to found a unitary religion, which would unite in the same faith the Hindus and the followers of the Prophet, and with that view he assailed the intolerance of the Koran and the fanaticism of the Mollahs with no less vigour than the prejudices of his compatriots. We cannot doubt that the spectacle of Islam, with its triumphant monotheism, its severely spiritualistic worship, its large fraternity, and its morality practically so incontestably superior to Hinduism, left a very deep impression on his mind. At the same time, this impression appears to have been only quite general. Kabîr was indifferently acquainted with the Mussulman theology; his god is neither that of the Koran nor even that of Sufism, but that of the Vedânta. The mantra of initiation with which he receives his disciples is in the name of Râma, and, notwithstanding the very explicit profession which he makes of monotheism, he seems to have himself admitted—anyhow those who believed in him afterwards admitted—the majority of the personifications of Hinduism. The members of this sect, the *Kabîr-panthis*, “those who follow the path of Kabîr,” form at present twelve principal branches, which have remained in communion with one another in spite of sundry differences in regard to both doctrine and practice. Their centre is at Benares, but we meet with them throughout the whole Presidency of Bengal, in Gujarât, in Central India, and as far as the Dekhan. Their number, difficult to estimate because of the pains they take to conform to the customs in the midst of which they live, appears to be pretty considerable. At the end of the last century, their religious order by itself alone contributed, it is said, 35,000 of those who took part in a *melâ* held at Benares, and they are still more influential than numerous. Kabîr himself is revered ■ a saint by the majority of the Vishnuites; his authority

is directly recognised by many reforming sects, and his influence is visible in all of them.

It is thus that the *Dādū-panthis*, founded at the end of the sixteenth century by a bleacher of the name of Dādū, and who are numerous among the Rajputs of Ajmeer and Jaypore; the *Bābā-lālīs*, or followers of Bābā Lāl, a Rajput of Mālva, who counted among his adherents the noble and ill-fated brother of Aurangzeb, Dāra Shakōh (in the middle of the seventeenth century); the *Sādhus*, "the pure ones," very numerous in the neighbourhood of Delhi, and whose founder, Bīrbhān, lived in the second half of the seventeenth century; the *Satnāmīs*, "the worshippers of the true name,"¹ who date from the middle of the following century, and are connected with Jīvan Dās,² a man of the military caste, a native of Oude—are all in a way branches sprung from the sect of Kabīr. The *Prān-nāthīs*, or followers of Prān Nātha, a Kshatriya of Bāndelkhānd (end of the seventeenth century), who admit indiscriminately Hindus and Mussulmans, interfering with the peculiar beliefs and practices of neither, and exacting no other confession than that of faith in one God;³ the *Çiva-nârâyānis*, founded in the first half of the eighteenth century by Çiva Nârâyana, a Rajput of Ghazipore, who recognise no *gurus* and also profess deism, and many more besides adhere to the same movement. Less direct, but no less evident, is the influence of the same doctrines in the work of Svāmin Nârâyana, who, in the first quarter of the present century, raised his voice in Gujarāt against

¹ There has been a sort of revival in this sect lately under the influence of a certain Ghāsi Dās, who died in 1850, and who had gathered about nearly half a million of followers. Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. iv. p. 329.

² The full name is Jagjīvan Dās, "the servant of (him who is) the life of the universe." A very interesting notice of this reformer, his works, his chief disciples, and the present condition of the sect, the level of

which appears to have sunk considerably lower, has been recently reproduced in the *Indian Antiq.*, viii. 289 seq. The *gaddi*, seat of the founder, is at the present time still occupied by one of his lineal descendants. The sect buries its dead instead of burning them.

³ See P. S. Growse, *The Sect of the Prān-nāthīs*, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xlviii. p. 171 seq.

the idolatry and superstitions of his fellow-countrymen, and in particular the impure religious beliefs of the Vallabhâcârya *gosains*. He preached a severe morality, the love of one's neighbour without distinction of caste, and the unity of God; adding that this God, who had incarnated himself of old in Krishna, and whose name Vallabhâcârya had unjustly assumed, had condescended to reappear again here below in his own person. Bishop Heber, who met him in the spring of 1825, has left us a curious account of the interview, which might well deserve to be reproduced here *in extenso*.¹ Nothing is better fitted than this account to give us an idea of the indescribable mixture of elevated views and gross superstitions which coalesce together at all stages of Hinduism, and it enables us to touch, so to speak, with the finger all the reservations we must make when we begin to speak of the monotheism of the Hindus. Svâmin Nârâyana, who appeared at this interview at the head of two hundred horsemen, armed to the teeth, then exercised authority, as absolute master, over more than 50,000 believers. At present the sect numbers about 200,000, and, according to a law which regulates all these communities, it is beginning to split up into two groups.

But the most remarkable of the numerous sects connected more or less directly with Kabîr is that of the Sikhs, the "disciples," which alone of all the branches of Hinduism took shape in the end as a national religion, or rather, we should say, gave birth to a nation.² The founder of their faith, Nânak, was born in 1469 in the

¹ Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, chap. xxv.

² For the general history of the Sikhs consult J. Malcolm, Sketch of the Sikhs, in Asiatic Researches, vol. xi.; H. T. Prinsep, Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab, and the Political Life of the Maharajah Runjeet Singh, Calcutta, 1834, translated into French by X. Raymond, 1836; W. L. MacGregor, History of the Sikhs, 2 vols., 1846; J. D. Cun-

ningham, A History of the Sikhs, 1849. For their religious history see H. H. Wilson, Account of the Civil and Religious Institutions of the Sikhs, in Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc., vol. ix. (1848), reproduced in Select Works, ii. 121, &c.; E. Trumpp, Nânak, der Stifter der Sikhreligion, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Munich, 1876, and especially the Introductory Essays at the beginning of the same author's translation of the Adi-Granth, 1877.

Punjâb, ■ short way from Lahore, in the commercial caste of the Khattris. For a while he led a wandering life, and it was probably in the course of these travels that he entered into relations with the disciples of Kabîr. Like this last, he constituted himself the apostle of ■ unitary religion grounded on monotheism and moral purity. "There are neither Hindus nor Mussulmans" was, it is said, the thesis of one of his first sermons, and, like Kabîr, he continues to be held in repute for his sanctity among the Sufis, the Fakirs, and in general the moderately orthodox Mussulmans. But, like him, and others besides, he was a Hindu at bottom; he rejected the Vedas, the Çâstras, the Purâṇas, as well as the Koran; but he retained the majority of the *saṃskâras*, or private ceremonies, which were abolished only a long while after, and he even did not break in an absolute way with caste, which he tolerated ■ a civil institution, and of which the sect, in spite of attempts afterwards made in the direction of its complete abolition, has always preserved some traces. It has never ceased, for instance, to testify considerable respect for the Brahmans; and almost all the *gurus* are said to have maintained some of them about their person in the character of domestic priests. Moreover, since the publication of the *Granth*, the Bible of the Sikhs,¹ there cannot, in ■ dogmatic reference, be any longer much question of the profound influence of Islam on the thinking of the founders of this religion. From first to last, both as regards the form and the foundation of its ideas, this book breathes the mystic pantheism of the Vedânta, reinforced by the doctrines of *bhakti*, of grace, and of absolute devotion to the *guru*. It is specially distinguished from the sectarian literature in general by the importance which it attaches to moral precepts, by the simplicity and spiritualistic character of ■ worship stripped of every vestige of idolatry, and especially by its moderation in regard to mythology, although

■ The *Adi-Granth*, or the Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs, translated from the original Gurmukhî, with ■ Introductory Essays, by Dr. E. Trumpp, 1877. Published by order of the English Government.

we find in it ■ considerable number of the personifications of Hinduism, and even detect at times in it a sort of return to the Hindu divinities. But it would be difficult to eliminate from all this what is due to Mussulman influence. Practically, it is true, the Sikhs came in the end to worship ■ personal God, and their religion may be defined ■ deism more or less tinged with superstition. But that was a modification which it must necessarily undergo, pantheism, which may indeed become the faith of ■ limited circle of mystics, being inconceivable as the positive belief of a large community. On the other hand, there is no question that contact with the Mussulmans, which has nowhere been more intimate than in these border countries, has had a powerful effect upon the minds and manners of the Sikhs. It is from the followers of the Prophet that they have especially borrowed their military fanaticism and the dogma of the holy war, a notion which is in no respect a Hindu one, but which under the same influence has developed in like manner among other populations of India; for instance, among the Marhattas and certain Rajput tribes. The *Adi-Granth*, "the fundamental book," was compiled by the fifth successor of Nānak, Guru Arjun (1584-1606). He collected in it the poetical pieces left by the founder and the three *gurus* who came after him, and he added to these his own compositions, ■ well as ■ great number of sentences and fragments by Rāmānanda, Kabīr, the Marhatta poet Nāmdēv, and other sacred personages. Some more additions were made to it by Govind (1675-1708), the tenth and last *guru*, who composed besides a second *Granth*, entitled "The *Granth* of the Tenth Reign." These two books, both voluminous, ■ drawn up in an antiquated form of Punjābi, called *Gurmukhî*, "that which comes from the mouth of the *guru*." These, along with biographies of the *gurus*¹ and the saints,

¹ These biographies have been in part translated by E. Trumpp ■ his *Introductory Essays at the beginning of his translation of the Adi-Granth.*

and a certain number of directions in regard to ritual and discipline, constitute the sacred literature of the sect.

For nearly a century the Sikhs appear to have remained a purely religious community of inoffensive Puritans. As Nânak, though he did not make it the subject of a formal prohibition, had dissuaded his disciples from renouncing active life, the sect, with few exceptions, was composed of industrious heads of families, who were husbandmen or merchants. As infanticide, too, one of the gloomy practices of Hinduism, and much practised among the tribes of the West, Jâts and Rajputs, was among them strictly interdicted, and as its ranks were recruited indifferently from all sections of the population, Mussulman as well as Hindu, it was not long in waxing numerous under the authority of its *gurus*. This authority was absolute. The *guru* is the *mediator* and *saviour*; he is infallible; the believer owes to him a blind obedience, and his rivals, the abettors of heresy, were in the end devoted to the flames, they and their families. Although Nânak speaks in many passages with modesty respecting himself, we cannot doubt that he believed he had a divine mission, which, translated into the Hindu language, amounts to saying that he was an incarnation of Hari, a name for Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu, the most usual designation in the Granth of the supreme being. For himself and his disciples, he was identical with God, and all his successors were, like him, manifestations of the deity. As far as the fifth *guru*, the supreme authority was transmitted by means of consecration, at the hands of the dying titular, to the worthiest of his disciples.¹ Guru Arjun, the compiler of the Granth, made it hereditary. He was the first to surround himself with the paraphernalia of royalty, and he took advantage of his power to play a political part. He *prayed* for Khusrô,² the rebel son of the emperor,

¹ Nânak himself set this example in nominating Angad in preference to his two sons, whose descendants, the *Nânakpotras*, are to this day held in great respect by the Sikhs.

² Dabistân, vol. ii. p. 272. The author had had personal relations with the eighth *guru*, Hari Govind.

Jahângir, and perished the ■■■ year at Lahore, in the prisons of the Padishah (1606). From this moment the community of the Sikhs rapidly changed into ■ military theocracy, to which the fierce population of the Jâts supplied a fanatical soldiery. Under the reign of the bigoted Aurangzeb the struggle with the imperial power was resumed, never more to terminate. Teg Bahâdur, the ninth *guru*, was beheaded at Delhi (1675). His son, Govind Singh, whose pontificate was only a long succession of battles, completed the transformation of the sect, or, as it was henceforth called, after a name borrowed from the Arabic, the Khâlsâ, "the property, the portion (of God)." He surrounded it with a body of regulations, under which it became a people by itself, devoted to triumph or extermination.¹ All social inequality was abolished in the heart of the Khâlsâ, every member of which received the aristocratic surname of Singh (in Sanskrit *simha*, lion). Costume was regulated in a uniform fashion. With the exception of the religious respect paid to cows, all that recalled the usages, practices, and ceremonies of Hinduism was rigorously proscribed, although Govind himself personally took ■ part in some of the worst Hindu superstitions, to the extent of sacrificing one of his followers to Durgâ. No connection was to be henceforth tolerated with the unbeliever, with him who had not been admitted as a member of the Khâlsâ by five of the initiated drinking along with him the sherbet of the Pahul. A Sikh was not even to return the salutation of a Hindu. As for the Mussulman, he was bound to put him to death without mercy in whatever place he happened to meet with him. From the moment of initiation he was a soldier. The holy war became his permanent occupation; he was always to go armed, or at least, as a sign of his vocation, to wear on his person some steel,

¹ For the reforms effected by translated from Gurmukhi into Govind Singh, ■ Sakhee Book, ■ Hindi, and afterwards into English the Description of Gooroo Govind by Sirdar Attar Singh, chief of Singh's Religion and Doctrines, Bhadour, Benares, 1873.

which became a sort of charm. The deity himself received the name of *Sarba Lohantâ*, "all of iron," and by this means certain observances of fetishism crept into this iconoclastic religion. The Sikh soldier addresses his prayer to his sword; the book of the Granth, too, became also the object of ■ sort of worship.

In this unequal struggle against the formidable empire of Aurangzeb, Guru Govind Singh had in the end to succumb. Hunted like deer, after thirty years of fighting, what remained of his faithful ones were dispersed among the mountains; he himself accepted a post of command in the imperial armies, and fell at last by the hand of an Afghan assassin near Nander, in the territories of the Nizam (1708).¹ The Sikhs had not all adopted his reforms, and he appears to have clearly foreseen that, at the stage which the sect had reached, the personal influence of the *guru* would henceforth be a source of schism rather than of union. When pressed on his deathbed to appoint his successor, he declared that the dignity was abolished, and that the Granth would for the future be the *guru* of the Sikhs.

After his decease the direction of the Khâlsâ in the Punjâb passed into the hands of an ascetic of the name of Bandâ. Thrice under the command of this ferocious chief, the Sikhs issued forth from their retreats in Sirhind, and each of these irruptions was accompanied with massacres such as even India itself has rarely seen the like. Soon after the last of these, they were nearly annihilated by the generals of the Emperor Farokshîr. Bandâ himself was captured and sent to Delhi. After being present for seven consecutive days at the torture of 740 of his companions, not one of whom even winced, and after seeing his son butchered under his very eyes, and his heart taken out by the executioner and thrown in his face, he himself had his life tortured out of him, his flesh being torn with red-hot pincers, while his lips praised God for having chosen him

¹ M. Elphinstone, *History of India*, vol. ii. p. 564.

to be the executor of his vengeance on the race of the wicked (1716).¹ With the horrors of this merciless war the Sikhs had mixed up internal dissensions. Like Guru Govind, Bandâ had introduced novelties, not into their dogma, but into their usages. He had interfered with the costumes, and to the prohibition of tobacco he had added that of spirituous liquors and animal food (the Sikhs having abstained only from the flesh of the cow). This was a return to the maxims of Hindu devotion. In his fanatical community, in whose eyes the most insignificant matters assumed outrageous proportions, he had met with ■ infuriated resistance, and blood had flowed like water in the Khâlsâ. As, however, he had only been a chief, and not a divine authority in the manner of the *gurus*, his innovations were abolished easily after his death. From this moment the direction of the sect passed into the hands of a military corporation of zealots, the *Akâlîs*, "the Faithful of the Eternal," instituted, they say, by Guru Govind, who constituted themselves the savage defenders of orthodoxy. When the dissolution of the Mogul empire permitted the Sikhs to regain a footing on the plain, the *Akâlîs* set themselves up as the guardians of the sanctuary of Amritsar, where the original copy of the Granth of Guru Arjun was kept preserved. On great occasions they summoned together here the *Gurmatâ*, "the Council of the Guru," the general assembly of the Sikh chiefs, in which the supreme temporal and spiritual authority of the nation was vested, and which, though it did not ensure ■ perfectly stable unity to this singular mixture of theocratic oligarchy and military federation, kept up in it, however, a sufficient coherence, and prevented the occurrence of new divisions in the bosom of the Khâlsâ.

Here ends the religious history of the Sikhs; what follows is entirely political. Forty years after the last disaster that befell them, they had recovered to their

¹ M. Elphinstone, *History of India*, vol. ii. p. 575.

federation the greater part of the Jât Sirdars. In 1764, after the final retreat of the Afghans, they took possession of Lahore, and became the undisputed masters of the Punjâb; they could at that time muster 70,000 cavalry.¹ Ranjit Singh (1797-1839) succeeded in imposing on them the monarchical form of government; but their turbulent fanaticism, which the "Lion of the Punjâb" had been able to hold in check, re-awoke under his feeble successors. Twice over they came, and were shattered to fragments under the charge of British bayonets. At length, in the spring of 1848, the Punjâb was annexed to the possessions of the Company, and the army of the Khâlsâ ceased to exist. At present, the Sikhs, although composed of different ethnic elements, form a race with as marked features as any other in the Peninsula. They have preserved their ancient talent for war, and they supply a contingent of picked men to the Anglo-Indian army. But their fanaticism has gone to sleep. They are outside Hinduism, properly so called, although some of their subdivisions tend to return to it. To the number of 1,200,000 they form a compact population confined to the Punjâb, but they are met with scattered about in small groups all over Hindustan and in some parts of the Dekhan. In a religious point of view they have continued a pretty compact body, although there have arisen among them orders which have taken the form of distinct communities. Such, besides the Akâlîs, already mentioned, and who have no longer the influence they had, are the *Udâsîs*, "the Renunciants," who reject the Granth of Guru Govind, and end their days in a life of asceticism and celibacy; the *Nânak-potras*, the descendants of Nânak, who form a section of the *Udâsîs*; the *Divânê sâdhîs*, "the mad saints," some of whom also practise celibacy, and who, like the preceding, recognise only the Adi-Granth; the *Suthrês*, "the pure ones," and the *Nirmalê sâdhîs*, "the pure saints." These last live together as cenobites; they are mostly men of letters, and

¹ H. T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjâb*, p. 29.

incline to an alliance with Hinduism, of which they have adopted many of the practices. As for the Suthrês, they are vagrants, addicted to every vice, despicable and despised, and distinguished in no respect from the worst classes of fakirs and yogins. The worship of the Sikhs is simple and pure. With the exception of Amritsar, which is the religious centre of the nation, and a few sanctuaries in places consecrated by the life or the death of gurus and martyrs, they have no holy places. Their temples are houses of prayer: Here they recite pieces and sing hymns extracted from the Granth; and the congregation separates after each believer has received a piece of the *karâh prasâd*, "the effectual offering," a kind of pastry ware consecrated in the name of the *guru*. As tolerant as they were formerly fanatical, they do not object to admit to their religious services strangers, whom they allow even to participate in their communion. It is true that under this tolerance there lies concealed no little lukewarmness, and that, in the opinion of the best judge in this matter, Dr. Trumpp, the translator of the Adi-Granth, "Sikhism" is a religion which is on the wane.¹

We have cut short this review of the Hindu sects, although the movement we have tried to trace is far from exhausted. Hari has not ceased to come down to the earth, and even at the present time among the people, especially in the country districts, new religious bodies are in process of formation here and there around new incarnations. These manifestations, which are always springing up anew, and to which, moreover, the upper classes and the Brahmans have for long remained indifferent, are interesting to study, because they bear testimony to the unquenchable thirst after a revelation with which this people is possessed more than any other race in Asia. But the description would teach nothing new in regard to Hinduism. Even among the sects of the past we have selected only those which have appeared to us to contri-

¹ Adi-Granth, Introduction, p. cxviii.

bute best towards the exposition of the essential doctrines, or such as have supplied us with some feature in characterisation of one of the phases of this singular religious whole. Important communities have in this way been passed over in silence; there has been no mention, for instance, either of the *Nimbárkas*, one of the most ancient surviving branches of Vishnuism, which claim to be related to the astronomer Bhâskara (born 1114),¹ or of the *Vishṇubhaktas* of the Dekhan, who worship Vishṇu under the names of Pâṇḍuraṅga and Viṭṭhala, and who are very numerous among the Vaishṇavas of the Mahratta countries.² To have mentioned these sects, as well ■ many others, would have been, within the limits possible to this treatise, only to have added names to names, a very useless proceeding after all, when the discussion respects a country like India, where the religious varieties reckon by thousands. Besides, certain additions, absolutely indispensable, will be more in place in the investigation which we have still to make into the worship, and, in some measure, into the externals of Hinduism, ■ subject which we have till now touched on only incidentally, and of which it is of some consequence, however, to take ■ rapid and general survey.

¹ H. H. Wilson, *Select Works*, i. 150.

² Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.*, iv. 589. The celebrated Marhatta poet

Tukârâma was ■ zealous devotee of this god, whose principal sanctuary is at Pandharpur; ■ *Ind. Antiq.*, ii. 272.

HINDUISM.

IV. WORSHIP.

Diversity of the Hindu systems of worship.—These independent of one another.—Manifold divinities to which they address their worship.—Worship of the stars; that of Ganeça.—Worship of the sun: Iranian influences.—The Neo-Brahmanic religions essentially idolatrous: origin and development of the worship of images.—Sacred symbols: the *liṅga* and the *yoni*: the *Çâlagrâma* and the *Tulasî*.—Sacred plants and trees.—Sacred animals: the cow, the bull, and the monkey: the worship of the serpent.—Private religious observances: the *Âcâra* and its varieties.—Mystic formulæ and litanies.—Forms of public worship: the *Grâmadevatâs*.—Worship and service in the temples.—Offerings and victims.—Communion.—Festivals and *Melâs*.—Pilgrimages: the Ganges and other sacred rivers.—Benares.—Religious suicide.—*Mathurâ*, *Gayâ*, *Jagannatha*, *Somnâth*, &c.—Statistics of pilgrimages: their importance in preserving a certain unity in Hinduism.—Limits of Hinduism: excommunicated castes.—The aborigines, *Dravidians*, and others, and their religions.—A retrospective glance.—Religious future of India: Hinduism falls in pieces, and seems to have no successor.—Negative results of the Mussulman conquests and Christian missions.—The *Brahma-Samâj*.

THOUGH it is hardly necessary to say so, there is still greater diversity in India between the forms of worship than there is between the systems of doctrine. Not only has each figure in the pantheon his own, but usually he has several, as many sometimes as the names he has and the number of his principal sanctuaries. This pantheon itself is formed of heterogeneous elements, in which all the religious systems which have arisen in the course of ages have left their several contributions. Alongside of the great sectarian divinities and their personal surround-

ings, their wives, fathers, mothers, sons, brothers, and servants, we meet with the ancient gods of Brahmanism, Agni, Indra, Varuna, &c., powers that have fallen mostly into decay, but which survive in what remains of the ancient ritual, especially in the domestic ceremonies. The heroes of the epic legend, such ■ Hanuman, the monkey associated with Râma, or the five sons of Pându and their common spouse Draupadî, whose worship is highly popular throughout the Peninsula,¹ are found here again associated with impersonations of a very different origin, such ■ the Gaṅgâ (the Ganges), the Sun, Moon, and Planets.² Each several district, especially in the Dravidian South, has besides its own local deities, which have been identified in the main with the general types of Hinduism, but rarely to the extent of being absolutely confounded with them. Finally, the *personnel* literally baffles calculation,⁴ when we add to it, ■ we must, a crowd of powers without names, of subordinate rank in the literature, but which at times play a prominent part in the prepossessions of the people, such ■ the Bhûtas or demons, the Vetâlas or vampires, the Piçâcas and other mischievous goblins, the Pretas or ghosts, the Yakshas

¹ In the single district of South Arkot, which surrounds Pondicherry, there are not less than 500 temples dedicated to the Pândavas; Ind. Antiq., vii. 127.

² For the Ganges and the Sun see *infra*. The Moon, Candrâ, early likened to Soma, was, from the time of the Brâhmanas, the centre of numerous legends, and the object of divine honours. The Çaṅkaravijaya, ch. xlv., and the Mussulman writers (Ketâb-al-fihrist, in Reinaud's Mémoire ■ l'Inde, p. 293, and Shah-rastâni, t. ii. p. 367, translated by Haarbrücker), speak of ■ sect of Moon-worshippers. The Planets, Graha, are rarely referred to with any certainty in the ancient literature. They were, however, not quite unknown, ■ is for most part alleged, since they ■ invoked, Atharva-V., xix. 9, 7, and 10. Mention is

made of them besides in the verses of the *khila*, inserted under the ■ of Râtrisûkta after Rig-Veda, x. 127; in the Maitrî Up., vi. 16; in Manu, i. 24; vii. 121, &c. They figure, along with the sun and the moon, and doubtless with ■ religious signification, on the coins of the Satrap kings. Lassen, Ind. Alterthumsk., ii. 918 and 1134, 2d ed. The cultus of these stars is prescribed at length by Yajñavalkya, i. 294-307. Compare Brihat Parâçara Samhitâ, ix., in Dharmasâstrasamgraha, ii. 250 seq. Varâha Mihira, Yogoyâtrâ, vi. 2-18, in Ind. Stud., xiv. 326 seq., describes their images; and a sect of planet-worshippers is mentioned in ch. xlv. of the Çaṅkaravijaya. It is impossible at present to say to what extent the Hindus had ■ independent planetary astrology. What we know of ■ is derived from the Greeks, as the

or gnomes, the Vidyādhāras ■ sylphs, the Rākshāsas or ogres, the Nāgas, a species of *genii*, half men, half serpent, and the endless number of local deities.¹ There is ■■ mountain, river, rock, cave, tree of any note, which has not its *genius loci*; ■ village especially which has not its *grāma devatā*, which, even where it is one of the figures of the great pantheon, nevertheless appears to the popular conscience distinct from the same divinity as worshipped elsewhere.

Almost all these forms of worship are more or less independent of one another. There are indeed allied gods, but these alliances are far from being stable. At any rate, there are no longer, in the modern religious ritual, observances to be compared with the grand Vedic ceremonials, where all the powers of heaven and earth participated in common in a prescribed series of acts of homage. What of this nature still remains is either a relic or an imitation of ancient Brahmanism. These forms of worship are independent in still another sense. Speculation, which at times asserted itself so freely in regard to the doctrines, had much less hold on the practices. On this side it came into collision, and that not among the masses only, with an array of habits and beliefs before which sectarian enthusiasm itself has almost always in the long-run recoiled exhausted. The idea even, so universally accepted, that all things depend in the end on an *Içvara*, ■ sovereign lord, has been transfused very imperfectly into the worship. Here the gods are small or great according to the nature and extent of their functions; within the limit of these functions they are not mere lieutenants. Hence, among the many ways that offer of securing the favour of Heaven, every Hindu has his own predilections; but, unless it be from superior education or connection with ■ rigid sect, he is indifferent to none of those which

name *Horā* implies, by which it ■ designated. Stellar astrology, however much its origin is still matter of debate, is of ancient date among them, and ■ since the Vedic epoch certain groups of stars, particularly

the *Nakshatras*, have been objects of worship. See *supra*, pp. 23 and 41.

¹ See a curious invocation of these many-formed beings in *Varāha Mihira*, *Yogoyātrā*, vi. 20-29, in *Ind. Stud.*, xiv. 329. See also *supra*.

are within his reach. In spite of all her high aspirations, we must say then that, taken in the mass, India has in practice remained polytheistic;¹ and it is easy to understand that it has necessarily taken the Mussulmans, and after them the Europeans, some time to see that beyond all the motley colouring of these religions there existed among these *gentiles* a confessed theology and speculations worthy of account in the history of the human spirit.²

Although there are still here and there populations in a backward state (and we are speaking here only of Hindu populations, or those who have more or less adopted Hindu manners), whose whole religion consists in conforming to custom, and worshipping the fetish of the village, this polytheism has at the present time hardly any other centre than Çiva or Vishnu. But the pre-eminence of these two divinities has not always been so universally recognised, and in the past other forms of worship have contended with theirs for the first rank. Our knowledge of the most of these last religions is very limited. They have left no literature, and, except their preference for a particular god, we know nothing of their theology. We do not even know whether they ever had a body of doctrines which was peculiar to them, whether they in the end took shape as real sects, or whether we ought not rather to regard them simply either as popular superstitions, or more or less prevalent devotions, retaining always something, however, of a personal element. This is certainly the case with the majority of those which the pseudonymous author of the Çaṅkaravijaya passes in review when they are not mere creations of his fancy.

¹ Gaudapāda, who lived probably at the end of the seventh century, mentions besides a dogmatic polytheism in his ślokas on the Māṇḍūkya Upanishad (ii. 21, 424, ed. of the Bibl. Ind.). He meant doubtless to describe the ancient Mīmāṃsistēs, who accepted no Īçvara.

² "It has now come to light that

the generally received opinion of the Hindus being polytheists has a foundation in truth; for although their tenets admit positions that are difficult to be defended, yet that they are worshippers of God, and only God, are incontrovertible points." Ayeen Akbari, translated by Gladwin, vol. iii. pp. iv., v., Calcutta, 1876.

There is not the slightest evidence, for instance, that communities were ever formed under the names of Agni, Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kuvera (Plutus), Manmatha (Cupid), the Gandharva Viçvâvasu,¹ &c. Regarding Vâc or Sarasvatî,² the wife of Brahmâ and the goddess of eloquence, we know that she was the patroness of Kashmir; but Kashmir was, nevertheless, Çivaite. The religions of Garuḍa, the bird of the sun, of Çesha, the king of the serpents, of the Bhûtas, or demons,³ have never been able to be more than popular beliefs, such as we may still see among many tribes. That of Hiraṇyagarbha ■ Brahmâ⁴ was the fruit, on the contrary, of learned tradition. It is probable that, though it was never far spread, it was more so formerly than now, when it is professed only by Brahmans specially scrupulous on the point of orthodoxy. Besides, there are still here and there *Gânapatyas*, who keep up a quite special devotion for Gaṇapati or Gaṇeça, "the chief of the troops (which attend on Çiva)," the god with the elephant's head, who clears away obstructions and inspires prudent resolutions, whom every Hindu, however, invokes before undertaking anything, and who, in his character of patron of letters and arts, is mentioned at the beginning of almost all books. The Çaṅkaravijaya distinguishes as many ■ six subdivisions of the Gânapatyas, who must have each worshipped ■ particular form of the god.⁵ But the most powerful of all these religions, the only one which has really been able to rival those of Viṣṇu and Çiva, the only one withal concerning which we have numerous

¹ Çaṅkaravijaya, ch. xii., xxxiii., xxxiv., xxxv., xxxii., xxxi. l., ed. of the Bibl. Ind. For Yama see Mu-drârâkshasa, act i., where Nipunaka enters.

■ Çaṅkaravijaya, ch. xxi.

³ Çaṅkaravijaya, ch. xlviii., li.

⁴ Çaṅkaravijaya, ch. xi.

⁵ Çaṅkaravijaya, ch. xv.-xviii. Yâj-ñavalkya, i. 289-293, attaches a quite special importance to the worship of

Gaṇeça. It figures prominently in several Purâṇas; for example, in the Brahmavaivarta and the Bhaviṣya. Besides an Upapurâṇa, the Gaṇeça-Purâṇa is specially consecrated to it. See the analysis in Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, pp. 78, 79. Compare Bṛihat Parâçara Saṃhitâ in the Dharmaçâstrasamgraha, ii. 247 seq.

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ON THE PROGRESS OF THE WORK DURING THE YEAR 1900.

BY THE SECRETARY OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.

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The letter was about the
[Topic] and I replied to it
on [Date].

3. 1934
In the evening, I went to the
office and found a letter from
Mr. [Name] dated [Date].
The letter was about the
[Topic] and I replied to it
on [Date].

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office and found a letter from
Mr. [Name] dated [Date].
The letter was about the
[Topic] and I replied to it
on [Date].

5. 1934
In the afternoon, I went to the
office and found a letter from
Mr. [Name] dated [Date].
The letter was about the
[Topic] and I replied to it
on [Date].

6. 1934
In the evening, I went to the
office and found a letter from
Mr. [Name] dated [Date].
The letter was about the
[Topic] and I replied to it
on [Date].

7. 1934
In the morning, I went to the
office and found a letter from
Mr. [Name] dated [Date].
The letter was about the
[Topic] and I replied to it
on [Date].

8. 1934
In the afternoon, I went to the
office and found a letter from
Mr. [Name] dated [Date].
The letter was about the
[Topic] and I replied to it
on [Date].

9. 1934
In the evening, I went to the
office and found a letter from
Mr. [Name] dated [Date].
The letter was about the
[Topic] and I replied to it
on [Date].

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2. Notes

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that a knowledge of the past is essential for a full understanding of the present. The author then goes on to discuss the various factors which have shaped the development of the United States, including the influence of the British, the Spanish, and the French. The author also discusses the role of the American people in the development of the country, and the importance of the American Revolution. The paper concludes by discussing the future of the United States, and the role of the American people in shaping that future.

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